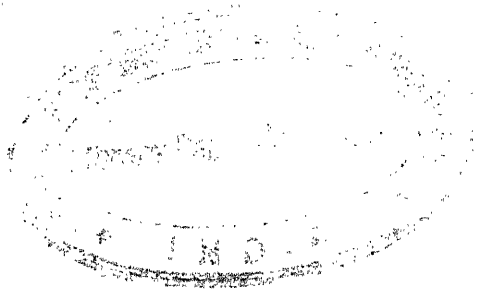
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THE JUBILEE OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

(FOUNDED 1866)

CHAPTER III

At the annual meeting held on May 31, 1881, under the Chairmanship of Lord Stanley of Alderley, Sir Richard Temple, Bart., G.C.S.I., was elected President of this Association.

Sir Richard was at that time absent in Constantinople, but on March 13, 1882, after his return, he delivered his inaugural address on accepting office as President. In this address he dwelt upon the fact that India was changing as fast as any country in Europe, and urged that attention should be directed by the Association to the material, moral, and social progress of the Indian Empire. Of the former, he said, the most important was the application of British capital to the development of the resources of India. That would be partly private and partly public, the sphere of action for the former being the making of cheap railways, and of the latter the extension of irrigation works, which could only be successfully undertaken by the Government. Sanitation was a subject which should be earnestly impressed on all concerned; also the cultivation and preservation of forests, which were sorely needed both for their climatic effect and to supply fuel, so that manure, instead

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of being burnt, might be applied to its legitimate purpose of restoring the failing fertility of the soil. They had already the greatest Forest Department in the world in India, but it was small compared with the wants of the country. With regard to land, they should constantly attend to the extension of tenant-right to the millions of ordinary cultivators. Something might be done by the Association regarding emigration from the over-populated districts of India by communicating information in regard to the Indian labour market to the Agents here of such colonies as Madagascar, the Mauritius, Natal, and South America. On the opium question, too, they might do much to correct the mistaken view of the excellent and benevolent people who were agitating the matter in this country. In regard to moral and social matters in which this Association might be beneficial to the people of India, the chief was education. On that he would say that the high education given, partly by by the Government and partly by private Missionary institutions, had been fraught with blessings to the upper classes of Indians, improving them morally and intellectually; and therefore the Association should not countenance those who disparaged that in favour of primary education. Missionary effort had done all it could, but, with all its zeal and energy, it was inadequate to the need, and therefore Government must do a great deal; for the want was still great, especially in the interior of the country, of an increased number of colleges. The system of Government paying half and the people paying half the cost of this high art education had worked well, and it should be the object now for the Government to offer a large number of scholarships to be competed for by the more talented youths of slender means throughout the Empire. In regard to the trade, he was glad to hear from India of the remission of duties on Indian articles imported from England, and he would suggest to the Association the duty of enforcing something like reciprocity by urging the remission of duties on Indian articles imported here. Reverting for a moment to education, Sir Richard

Temple said that he was sanguine that much might be done to improve the education of native women and girls, and he commended the subject to educated English ladies as one in which they might exert a graceful and beneficial influence. Referring next to Christian Missions in India, he testified to their advantages, both on religious grounds and for their moral, social and political effect on the Indian people. Much good might be done by the Association in systematizing the statistics of India, which were all carefully pigeon-holed in various departments. Also, the admission of Indians to the Covenanted Civil Service should be advocated; the great object of our education should be to fit them to become administrators, for till that was done we should not have done our duty by them. They should endeavour, also, as much as possible, to advocate honorary public functions being assigned to native gentlemen, such as Honorary Magistrates and Judges, Assessors in civil cases and jurors in criminal cases, their appointment being made, wherever practicable, by the election of their fellow-countrymen. He had carried out that principle in Calcutta, in filling the offices of Municipal Commissioners, with the happiest results. In conclusion, he advised the Association to avoid Central Asian politics, which had, unfortunately, become in this country a matter of party strife, while their object should be to work with both parties, and also to create a favourable impression on native gentlemen visiting England by making their stay agreeable.

On Thursday afternoon, March 23, 1882, a meeting of the members and friends of the Association was held in Doughty Hall, under the presidency of Mr. Alderman R. N. Fowler, M.P., when Mr. John Dacosta read a paper on "By Whom is India Governed?"

Mr. Dacosta pointed out that the system of administration under which India is governed had not been materially modified since its adoption in 1858-1861, nor had any inquiry been instituted to ascertain how far the machinery then established had served its intended purposes. The history

of the last fifteen years recorded instances of Indian Secretaries of State having, under a strained interpretation of the Acts, omitted to consult the Council of India in cases where by law they should have done so; supported the Governor-General in over-ruling his Council in ordinary matters under a clause intended only for extraordinary cases of urgency; and, by directing definite pieces of legislation to be enacted by the Legislative Council irrespective of the opinion entertained by that Council, deprived the Indian Legislature of its essential and most valuable attribute as a deliberative body. Mr. Dacosta urged that the failure of the system under which India had been governed since 1868 had been due to the inadequacy of the means which were then devised for the protection of her revenues, and for the wholesome control of the extensive powers vested in the Secretary of State; and he contended that the remedy for some of the most serious errors might be found in a reorganization of the Legislative Councils such as would prepare the way for introducing into them a true and substantial representation of the people, and render it impossible for their decisions to be dictated by the Executive, as at present. In short, he considered that the successful administration of India required a reasonable amount of self-government and a corresponding modification of the all-absorbing power now centred in an Authority stationed thousands of miles from India, unacquainted with the country and its inhabitants, and subject to the influences of a Cabinet and a Parliament whose interests were frequently at variance with those of India.

These views of Mr. Da Costa were challenged by Mr. Alexander Rogers, who pointed out that a great many of the statements in the paper were exaggerated, and that there were very few of them which could not be controverted. He denied that the material condition of India "was declining," and was prepared to maintain that the prosperity of India was increasing every day. He affirmed that what the agriculturists chiefly required was the assurance of their

material prosperity so that their fields might be kept in cultivation and famine prevented.

In their annual report for the year 1883-84, the Association placed on record their deep regret at the death of Mr. E. B. Eastwick, C.B., who had been Chairman of Council from the earliest days of the foundation of the Institution, and who had laboured so zealously, perseveringly and successfully for the good of the Association and the welfare of the inhabitants of India generally.

On May 18, 1883, before the Association at Exeter Hall, Mr. H. G. Keene, C.I.E., read a paper entitled "Liberal Principles in India."

He explained that the title "liberal" was not intended to bear a party meaning, and might be spelt with a small "l" provided he could establish that the principles were beneficial to India. He added that these principles had not made their appearance in India in British hands for the first time. The Vedic Aryans possessed (Mr. Keene continued) the germ of liberal principles, and preserved them through long succeeding ages. Akbar anticipated almost all the great liberal measures that the British have revived. His great-grandson, Aurungzebe, reversed that policy, and before his death Rajputs, Sikhs and Mahrattas were in insurrection in the different quarters of the Empire. In 1719 the throne devolved on a collateral, who took the name of Muhamad Shah, and reigned for twenty-eight years; but his reign is only noticeable for the constant progress of the three classes of Hindu rebels and for the crushing invasion of Nadir Shah, when 120,000 of the citizens of Delhi were massacred, and property estimated at eighty millions taken away. But a new set of intruders were at hand. Beginning in Southern India, the French and English gradually made all India the battlefield of their rivalries. The preponderance of the English, due to the genius and tenacity of Robert Clive, forced the foreign Europeans into subordinate positions. All were ambitious, mostly unscrupulously covetous. But liberal principles are

the seeds which Europe must carry in her bosom, and which her sons, whether they intend it or not, must scatter as they go.

In 1833, when the Company's Charter was renewed for the last time but one, there was a great prevalence of those principles all over the world, and great and organic reform was set on foot in India soon after the granting of that Charter. Akbar tried in vain to restrain the Hindus from burning widows alive. Lord Bentinck put down the practice, and an Act permitting the remarriage of Hindu widows stands on the Statute Book, by no means a dead letter.

India has the best code of Penal Law in the world, and many chapters of the Civil Law have been similarly consolidated, with excellent general results. The Civil Courts of first instance are entirely manned by native judges, who sit without juries, and have unlimited jurisdiction without distinction of creed or colour.

More than this, a native judge has a seat on the bench of every one of the four High Courts constituted in the various provinces, which hear causes criminal and civil with scarcely any appellate control at all.

During the same year a paper by Miss Florence Nightingale was read before the Association under the Presidency of the Rt. Hon. Sir Bartle Frere, K.C.B., G.C.S.I., on the condition of the landed classes and those who live under them in Bengal. Miss Nightingale argued that the Bengal Rent Law Bill, which was to decide the fate of sixty millions odd, did not violate the permanent settlement of Bengal, but would give the Zemindars "paying prosperous tenants" instead of "rack-rented runaways." She pleaded for fixity of tenure, fair rents, a public record of holdings, disability of the ryot to contract himself out of his rights, and effective penalties for illegal exactions, and, as indirect remedies, recommended the revival of Village Communities and the encouragement of Trades and Industries.

The question of the advisability of passing the Ilbert Bill (which caused such a sensation during the Viceroyalty of

Lord Ripon) was raised in a paper read by Mr. Robert Elliot at a meeting of the Association held in St. James's Hall Banqueting Room under the Presidency of Colonel the Rt. Hon. Lord Ellenborough, and led to a very animated and somewhat tempestuous discussion.

So prolonged was the debate that it had to be continued at an adjourned meeting, subsequently held in Exeter Hall, with Lord Stanley of Alderley in the chair.

The discussion was practically closed by Dr. G. W. Leitner, who said:

" I rise in compliance with the request made by the noble Chairman, although as an official, in spite of the example of Sir W. Wedderburn, it is as awkward to oppose a strong feeling among one's fellow-countrymen as to oppose a measure which the Government one serves is apparently bent on carrying out. I say ' apparently ' because it seems to me that Government is as ready as ever to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the question before us on the weight of the evidence and opinions that may be submitted to it. It is, or ought to be, the tendency of every Liberal Government in India not to degrade the European to a lower level in the name of equality, but to raise the native to the level of the liberties of the European. Having advocated before this very Association the policy of ' Native Self-Government, especially in Matters of Education,' in January, 1875, in a lecture the further discussion of which was postponed *sine die* owing to my return to India, it would ill become me to be silent on this occasion, especially as I could, with all deference to the views of others and diffidence as regards my own proposal, submit a suggestion which might be the means of reconciling both parties to this unfortunate dispute, which has been intensified far beyond its merits and to the detriment of that co-operation of natives with Europeans towards the common good of India which Mr. Elliot desires. (Hear, hear.) But before submitting my suggestion, I would wish to bear my tribute to the impartiality shown by the Chair to speakers on both sides—an im-

partiality worthy of the professed aims of the East India Association, as also to the evident honesty and generosity of motive that have inspired the most uncompromising partisans for and against the so-called 'Ilbert Bill,' although it must also be added that both sides have given utterance to views which the wise among them are sure to regret either already or in the future. Let me, therefore, appeal to the generous patriotism shown on the one side, and the equally generous abnegation of patriotism on the other, to shape the present agitation in such a way as to result in the acquisition of a boon to the natives of India. Under the present system a European British subject accused of a crime has a right to challenge the judge and jury. (Mr. Elliot: Not the Judge!) I had understood this was so, and one of the journals of the Society, the *Anjuman-i-Panjab*, which I have the honour to represent, and which has been the earliest and most consistent advocate of Native Self-Government and of a Provincial Council for the Panjab, has just proposed the measure to which I will presently allude. Why not extend the privilege, now enjoyed by a European British subject, of being tried by a jury of his fellow-countrymen, to the native whose person is greatly in want of such protection? According to the caste system, which, in spite of our efforts to undermine it, still keeps India from total disintegration, an accused should be tried by his peers. Even Turkey, in her most arbitrary days, allowed the subject Greeks, Armenians and Jews to govern themselves in all matters in which Muhammadans were not concerned; the Kazis in Transcaucasia enjoy a jurisdiction under Russian rule, which is only partially conceded in the Indian Kazi Bill, for obtaining which the *Anjuman-i-Panjab* has laboured so long. No European worthy of the name would object to the above privilege, so cherished by him, being extended to natives. All he objects to is being deprived of the privilege. It is also a question for consideration whether the excitement stated to prevail among English women in India would not be allayed by the privilege of

Parda-nashin native women being extended to them. Both Europeans and natives would then possess the same privileges which are now reserved for their separate respective enjoyment. Why not, therefore, shake hands over the Ilbert Bill and make it the happy means of increased sympathy between European and native instead of the apple, or rather stone, of discord which it is likely to become between the European and native fellow-subjects of Her Majesty?" (Applause.) The article alluded to in the English journal of the *Anjuman-i-Panjab*, the attitude of which has been telegraphed at some length to *The Times* from its Calcutta correspondent, runs as follows:

"It was stated by the Sheriff of Bombay that there was likely to be a compromise in the matter of the Native Jurisdiction Bill. A compromise can only mean an abandonment of principle, and it is therefore to be deplored. The principle that all persons should be equal before the law cannot be abandoned with impunity; at the same time there is nothing in the law which gives equal power to all magistrates and judges, nor is that desirable. The objection is that a difference of jurisdiction has been recognized by the law, based upon a difference of race. This difference cannot be allowed to subsist if our laws are to be just. In India we are all British subjects, whether native or European. The true principle is to recognize this fact and permit it to be carried to its legitimate conclusion. European criminals now possess the right of challenging their judge as well as their jury, and this right seems fair and reasonable, and we should carry it out in its entirety by giving native criminals exactly the same right. We have recommended this course from the very beginning of the discussion, and we honestly believe that it is the right solution of the problem. A native should have the right to be tried before the judge of another race, and he should be entitled to claim a jury. No administrative difficulty would be encountered in carrying out the proposal. It has often been pointed out that the privilege is that of the prisoner and not that of the

judge; and the question must be dealt with from the prisoner's point of view."

The next paper discussed by the Association was one by Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., entitled "The Poona Raiyat's Bank—a Practical Experiment." The Rt. Hon. Mr. John Bright occupied the chair, and delivered a most interesting speech expressing his astonishment at the indebtedness and common condition of the agricultural population of India. He said it was surprising to a business Englishman to be told that small cultivators in India, if they borrow from a native banker, have to "pay a rate of interest which in this country we should feel to be altogether destructive to any industry." It must be obvious, he said, to anyone who knew anything of these matters that capital employed in agriculture must be absolutely unprofitable to the cultivator if he has to pay interest even at the rate of twenty-four per cent., the middle sum ordinarily paid (or promised) by the Indian cultivator.

Sir William in his paper explained the Indian Raiyat's dependence on the village moneylender, and described agricultural bankers in other countries; and then gave a history of this Poona experiment,which arose from a proposal made by Mr. Jacomb, I.C.S., in 1860, and a minute of the Government of Lord Elphinstone thereon. Amongst the leading advantages of the Banking System proposed Sir William Wedderburn cited the large margin of profit on cultivation when capital provided irrigation and manure; the high merits of the ryot as an honest debtor; the existence of a skilled agency for moneylending, and the favourable attitude of Government.

On May 27, 1884, Dr. Leitner submitted to the Association an elaborate and exhaustive scheme on the subject of "Self-Government in the Punjab," in which he made most valuable suggestions for the introduction of self-government into the Punjab in a manner that should be acceptable to the people and advantageous to Government. He advocated the revival and strengthening of village Panchayats, and sug-

gested the advisability of establishing a Native Council for the Punjab. Dr. Leitner further proposed the establishment of a branch of the Punjab University in London, and planned an Oriental University with a Museum and Guest House at Woking. He further proposed to found Oriental professorships, fellowships and scholarships to enable Europeans and others to prepare themselves for official, professional, and even mercantile careers in the East and to study Oriental languages free of cost, as was already arranged in France at the Paris School of Living Oriental Languages. He purchased the Royal Dramatic College at Maybury for these purposes, and made a beginning there; but the praiseworthy scheme failed to meet with the encouragement expected, and did not survive the life of Dr. Leitner, who had certainly anticipated the scheme which has just now (1917) taken shape in the School of Oriental Studies in London, opened last month by the King-Emperor.

The next paper read before the Association was one by the Venerable Archdeacon Baly, with Sir Richard Temple in the chair, on " European Pauperism in India: its Causes and Cure."

The problem discussed was what is known as the " White Problem," and the Archdeacon dealt with it forcibly and fully. It had first been taken in hand by Sir Charles Turner, Chief Justice of Madras, and the Allahabad Charitable Association, which was started for finding employment for destitute Europeans; and one of the first to subscribe liberally to its support was Mr. Frederick Wilson, the famous Himalayan Shikari. The Association did much to ameliorate the lot of the poor while in India, and the responsibilities set forth by Archdeacon Baly led to the establishment of similar schools for poor Europeans in hill stations and did much to help in a satisfactory solution of the long-standing problem.

The last meeting was held on July 11, 1884, when a paper was read on the preservation of wild birds in India, by Robert H. Elliot. Professor Flower, F.R.S., Director of the British Museum (Natural History), and President of the

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Zoological Society of London, occupied the chair. Mr. Elliot's proposal was in the main not a general measure emanating from the Supreme Legislature of India, but that Government should authorize the local authorities according to their experience and notion of expediency to adopt local measures for the purpose of carrying out some form of protection.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE NATIVE STATES OF INDIA IN RELATION TO THE PARAMOUNT POWER

By T. H. S. Biddulph, C.I.E.

I shall find it difficult to make an hour or so sufficient to do more than present a brief sketch of a subject which embraces so considerable a portion of the history of the Empire of India. Doubtless many of those present know as much as, probably more than, I do of the matter. At the same time, for all of us, whether our knowledge of a subject is merely general or intimate, a brief recapitulation of information is useful if only as an *aide mémoire.*

Since preparing this paper two events have occurred which should stimulate our interest in the Native States. In October a meeting of most of the ruling Chiefs took place under the presidency of Lord Chelmsford. I do not propose to discuss the matters brought before the conference, but I may be permitted to remark that the proposal to establish a Council of Princes cannot but have beneficial results in connection with the subject of this address.

And now we have a ruling Chief in the person of H.H. the Maharajah of Bikanir selected to serve on the Imperial War Conference as one of the representatives of the Indian Empire. The Government has wisely shown its appreciation of the administrative ability to be found among our subordinate Allies, and is to be congratulated on the selection of so able a Chief to represent them; the more so that he has taken an active part in the war, and

has contributed a most useful unit in the Bikanir Camel Corps.

I shall endeavour to show that the existence of Native States is due to the anxiety of the Government (and I propose to use this term as applying either to the East India Company or the British Government) to preserve those with which they came in contact, and even to revive some which were threatened with extinction; that the policy of intervention was forced upon it; and that annexation, when resorted to, was only adopted as a last resource; and I shall have something to say as to the relations with Native States involved by the policy of protection and intervention adopted by the Paramount Power, and the treaties which regulate the mutual obligations of both parties.

First, then, what is a Native State?

It is a territory whose ruler enjoys the power of what may be called "limited sovereignty." No State can declare war or peace or enter into treaties or engagements with any other State. Some States are free of almost any interference, others are shorn of many of the attributes of sovereignty; but so long as their rulers have any sovereign authority left their territories are recognized as Native States.

Taking the population and area of India as, respectively, three hundred and fifteen millions and 1,800,000 square miles, the Native States contribute a population and area equivalent to one-fourth and two-fifths of the respective totals (seventy-one millions and 700,000 square miles).

There are the Rajput States, with a population of twelve millions, the Mahratta States of over ten millions, further south Hyderabad with eleven and a half millions, Mysore with five millions, Travancore with three and a half millions, Baroda and Kathiawar have some fifteen millions, the balance being made up of any number of smaller States scattered over the different provinces and varying in size down to a few square miles. In all, there are about 170

States with whom the Government of India has dealings directly through its Agents, but the actual number of territories which have a right to call themselves "Native States" is close on 700. These states are bounded on all sides by British territory, but the frontiers are extremely irregular, and it is a common thing to find towns and villages surrounded by native territory and areas belonging to Native States buried in British territory.

The British arrived on the scene when the whole continent of India was more or less boiling over with disorder and confusion. Viceroys of the Emperor of Delhi had rebelled, broken loose, and established themselves on their own account. In all directions States were busy fighting their neighbours and the stronger robbing the weaker. Meantime the East India Company was establishing itself by treaties, concessions, and peaceful penetration, and by the forcible acquisition of territory from others who had no better legal title to it. The conditions of the country made it extremely difficult for the Company to decide how far a State should, so to speak, be left to stew in its own juice, and when a point had been arrived at when the condition of misrule and disorder had become so intolerable as to threaten the peace of their own territory, and to call for the adoption of such drastic measures as would put an end to these dangers.

And now the question forced itself on the Company whether the preservation of "native" rule was an impracticable proposition. However, the principle which governed the Company's attitude through all the difficulties of neighbourhood with ruling Chiefs whose methods of government were autocratic and, to our ordered minds, utterly irregular was entirely opposed to the application of annexation as a remedy.

Such a solution of a difficult problem was to be avoided unless and until the misrule, and in some cases aggressive tendencies of their neighbours, made any other course impossible.

The principle, therefore, adopted by the Company towards ruling Chiefs was originally one of non-intervention. When compelled in its own interests, it concluded certain alliances, but only when absolutely driven to do so, and in such cases it treated its allies as independent nations.

This attitude may be said to have been adhered to from the time of Clive (1757) to the close of Lord Minto's administration in 1813.

Samples of the transactions based on this attitude may be quoted.

The first is the treaty of alliance with Oudh, dated August 16, 1765.

The second the alliance with the Nizam and Peshwa in 1790.

The third the treaty of Bassein concluded with the Peshwa December 31, 1802.

And, lastly, the treaty of Lahore, entered into with Ranjit Singh, the ruler of the Sikhs, April 25, 1809.

The object of the treaty of alliance with Oudh was to interpose what we now know as a "buffer" State between the Company's sphere of interests in Bengal and what lay beyond.

The treaties of alliance with the Nizam and Peshwa were due to the urgent need of combined action against Tippoo Sultan, with whom war was declared.

The treaty of Bassein was a mutual defensive alliance with the Peshwa necessitated by the threatening attitude of Gwalior, Indore, and Nagpore. How faithless the Peshwa was to this agreement will appear later.

By the treaty of Lahore the British undertook to abstain from interference with the dominions of Ranjit Singh north of the Sutlej, while the latter agreed to recognize this boundary and to respect the independence of the Cis-Sutlej Sikh States, who had applied to the Company for protection.

In these and similar treaties of this period the Native States were regarded in the light of equal and independent States.

The Company had all through stuck to the principle of keeping itself free from all entanglements which engagements with Native States involved. Protection was refused to the Rajputana Chiefs, and Central India remained outside its sphere of control. There was no very definite treaty with Sind, and in the Punjab and Kashmir the Sikhs were left to manage their own affairs without interference.

With the advent of the Marquis of Hastings in 1813 a new departure was taken as to the relative position of the Native States and the Paramount Power. It was felt that between absolute non-intervention and annexation there lay a *media tutissima via* which would not only introduce a reasonable control over the lawlessness of irresponsible rulers, but also a proper regard for their sovereign rights. He himself described his change of policy as introducing a system of "subordinate co-operation." But before he had time to settle down to regulate the chaotic state of affairs in Central India and Rajputana difficulties arose with Nepal.

Nepal.

The encroachments of this State on the northern frontier of Oudh had long been a source of uneasiness to the British, and matters came to a crisis when two districts of this province were seized.

War was declared, which resulted in bringing the Gurkha Government to terms, and the treaty of December 2, 1815, provided for the cession by Nepal of certain territory and the reception by that State of a permanent British Resident. However, the treaty was almost immediately ignored, and a fresh campaign ensued, which was brought to a successful issue by Sir David Ochterlony, and the treaty of Segowli, March 4, 1816, was executed, by which certain concessions of territory were secured, and Nepal agreed to abstain from interfering in the affairs of Sikhim, which became subordinate to the Company. Further, no British, American, or foreign subjects were to be employed without the consent of the British Government, and it was provided that

Ministers of each State should reside at the Court of the other. The treaty is one of alliance subject to certain conditions, and differs in the exchange of accredited Ministers from those executed with the Protected States of India.

Having disposed of trouble in this direction, the Governor-General had now time to turn his attention to internal upheavals which could no longer be overlooked.

Pindaris.

The *Pindaris*—bands of freebooters and mercenaries out of employ—had grown to be a serious menace to the peace of the whole continent, carrying pillage and destruction into the Company's territories and Native States indiscriminately, particularly in Central India and Rajputana. This sort of thing had been going on from 1804 to 1817, and as they were driven from British provinces these banditti fastened upon such territory as still remained open to them. In all directions the Company was appealed to for protection.

So here self-defence and the absolute necessity of maintaining order forced on the Company a situation which demanded the abandonment of the principle of non-intervention. But other causes were at work which rendered intervention imperative.

Peshwa.

The Peshwa, in spite of the treaty of Bassein, had never ceased to intrigue with the other Mahratta chiefs and the Pindaris against the Company. Incidentally he had adopted an overbearing attitude to the Guicowar, fomented insurrection against his authority, and finally connived at the murder of his Agent. A further treaty was executed on May 8, 1816, by which the disputes with the Guicowar were settled, the limits of the Peshwa's territory defined, and the latter ceded districts as an equivalent for the subsidiary force agreed to in the treaty of Bassein, and renounced all communication with the Mahratta powers.

Towards the end of 1817 a general plan to round up the Pindaris was completed. Lord Hastings then moved to Gwalior, where he intimated to Scindia that circumstances required him to renounce the policy of non-intervention, and that he intended to contract alliances with all Native States with a view to introducing peace and good order, and in the meantime Scindia was required to assist in suppressing the Pindaris. A treaty to this effect was concluded November 5, 1817, which also provided that the British Government should be free to form engagements with Udaipur and other Rajput and Central India States hitherto more or less subordinate to Scindia. A similar treaty was also made with Baroda.

While this was going on the Peshwa suddenly declared war, expecting support from the Mahratta States and Amir Khan with his Pindaris.

The campaign with the Peshwa came to an end with the complete defeat of his forces in November, 1817, and nothing now remained but to annex his territory. The Peshwa had fled with a small force, and had kept up a running fight till he surrendered to Sir John Malcolm. He was provided with a pension of eight lacs, and allotted a residence at Bithoor, near Cawnpur, where he died, having adopted as his heir the notorious villain Dhondoo Punt, known as the Nana Sahib.

Nagpore.

The Rajah of Nagpore, Appa Sahib, had been in active correspondence with the Peshwa and on friendly terms with Chetoo, a Pindari Chief, and on hearing the news of the Peshwa's outbreak he attacked the British Residency, was defeated, and surrendered unconditionally. The State was not annexed, but Appa Sahib was removed and the widows of the late Rajah were permitted to adopt a successor. His affairs were managed by a British officer during his minority, but on his death in 1853, without an heir either natural or adopted, and under a proclamation

by Lord Dalhousie, his territory was annexed. The State had always been recognized by treaty as independent, and there was a very strong feeling in native circles, shared by the Resident and certain leading British officials, that the Governor-General's action amounted to a breach of faith.

Indore.

The example set by the Peshwa was also followed by Indore. This territory had for years been in a state of disorder and the army out of control. When the news of the events at Poona became known the army made common cause with the Peshwa, but at the battle of Mehidpur, December 21, 1817, was completely defeated.

A treaty was concluded with the young Maharajah Mulhar Rao in January, 1818, and he was reduced to the position of a dependent sovereign.

Guicowar.

Reference has been made to the settlement of disputes between the Peshwa and the Guicowar of Baroda by a treaty with the former in 1816. In 1820 a treaty was concluded with the then reigning Guicowar stipulating (1) that all foreign affairs were to be conducted by the British Government; (2) that the Guicowar was generally to manage his own internal affairs in consultation with the Resident; (3) that the British Government should retain the power of offering advice.

Bhopal.

The Nawab of Bhopal had suffered by the invasion of his territory by Scindia, and in 1809, having vainly called on the Company for assistance, was forced by the policy of non-intervention to obtain help from the Pindaris. After varying fortunes, in 1817 a treaty was concluded with the British, whereby the Nawab was offered, and accepted, the British alliance, and was required to co-operate in suppressing the Pindaris.

Tonk.

The most notable of the Pindaris was Amir Khan. He had managed to secure from Holkar an assignment of estates in Malwa and Rajputana, which formed the nucleus of the existing State of Tonk. From this centre he joined in the quarrels between Jodhpur and Jaipur, aiding first one and then the other, and spreading indiscriminate pillage and slaughter in all directions. When the British Army advanced in 1817, Amir Khan was invited to accept the protection of the British Government, and a treaty was arranged by which he undertook to disband his army, and his force of 30,000 men and several batteries were thus detached from the Pindari cause, while he was recognized as the ruler of Tonk, and the sovereignty of the Jaghirs originally assigned to him by Holkar was guaranteed to him.

Kathiawar.

The next area to be dealt with was Kathiawar, in which territory both the Peshwa and Guicowar had claimed sovereign rights. So far as the Guicowar's interests were concerned, he had received protection from molestation from the Court at Poona by the treaty with the Company, and later, as already stated, the Peshwa disappeared from the scene in November, 1817. As regards those other tributary Princes, the Guicowar had been accustomed to exact his rights by a system of extortion enforced by his troops, who were billetted on the country, and inflicted on it the miseries to be expected from a more or less undisciplined soldiery.

To remedy this state of things, an engagement was entered into on April 3, 1820, by which the Guicowar undertook not to send his troops into the provinces of Mahi Kanta and Kathiawar, and only to prefer his claims on the Zemindars through the Company's government, while the Company undertook to collect and pay the tribute, free of expense, to the Guicowar.

Thus the supreme authority in Kathiawar, as far as pre-

viously vested in the Peshwa and Guicowar, has been exercised solely by the British Government, while the weak and numerous States in Guzerat have been saved from annexation. Political Courts of Justice have controlled and assisted the smaller States, while a Federal or Rajasthanik Court, presided over by a British officer, assists the larger States. By this means some hundreds of petty states have retained their sovereignty.

Kutch.

There remained in the West of India the Kutch territory. Up to 1809 the Company had no cause to interfere with this State, but the suppression of piracy and protection of shipwrecked crews demanded attention and treaty relations with the Company. Further interference, in 1813, was rendered necessary by the non-observance of the treaty of 1809; and in 1816 the Rao — more or less insane — became wholly unmanageable. He had commenced his reign by acts of cruelty and aggressions on his neighbours, and his outrages became so atrocious that a British force had to be employed to restore order. A treaty was concluded, with certain stipulations and penalties; but this had hardly been settled when the Rao broke out worse than ever, and eventually had to be removed in favour of his infant son. By the treaty of October, 1819, the State came under the protection of the British Government, and was generally guaranteed against internal interference; but the British Government reserved the right to correct any abuses which might operate oppressively on the inhabitants. Further, the Rao undertook, by separate deeds, to guarantee generally all the Rajput Chiefs in full enjoyment of their possessions.

Cochin.

In 1776 Cochin was conquered by Hyder Ally, of Mysore, and continued in a state of dependence on him and Tippu Sultan till the British rescued the country on the terms that it should transfer its allegiance to the Company.

As a matter of fact, when Tippu came to grief in 1799 the Rajah of Cochin, relieved of anxiety, raised troops and attacked the British; he was easily brought to reason, and a new treaty was entered into.

Travancore.

The case of Travancore is similar to that of Cochin. In spite of the fact that a treaty of alliance existed between the Rajah and the British, Tippu attacked Travancore, and would have occupied it permanently but that the British declared war on him for attacking their ally. A treaty was entered into, and it became a dependent and protected State.

Mysore.

In Mysore, where Hyder Ali had been the *de facto* ruler, and where, in 1795, Tippu Sultan assumed absolute sovereignty, it was the British again who, in 1799, rescued the country from the power of this adventurer and revived the Hindu principality.

Internal disturbances drove the Rajah to ask the aid of British troops. Later the misgovernment of the Rajah produced widespread discontent, and investigation showed that maladministration was rampant in all departments. So, in 1831, Lord W. Bentinck decided to interfere for the preservation of the State, and to transfer the entire administration thereof into the hands of British officers. The country was finally restored to its own ruler on March 1, 1881, and a new treaty entered into.

Manipur.

Manipur only came inside the protectorate in 1826, and there was only limited intercourse with the State till 1890, when a revolution occurred, and the Maharajah appealed to the British Government for aid. The British Agent who was sent to remove the leader was resisted and, with other officers, killed. Order was at length restored; the leaders were brought to trial—one hanged and the other trans-

ported. The State was not annexed, the rebellion being against the lawful ruler. Here the British Government asserted its right to intervene in case of rebellion against a Chief, the doctrine that resistance to Imperial orders constitutes rebellion, and the right of the Paramount Power to inflict capital punishment on those who murdered its Agents.

Cis-Sutlej States.

The Cis-Sutlej States, which include Patiala, Jhind, Nabha, Bhawalpore, Faridkote, and others, were rescued from threatened annexation by Ranjit Singh by the intervention of the British Government. By a treaty in 1809 this Chief undertook not to encroach on the possessions of Chiefs on the left bank of the Sutlej. These States, therefore, gladly accepted the protection of the British on the terms of the usual treaties.

Kashmir.

Kashmir owes its independence entirely to the transfer of territory to Goolab Singh, a Sikh Chief, when the whole of the Sikh possessions, including Kashmir, were annexed by the British. It was a deal for cash; there was no reason whatever why the country should not have been treated as the rest of the annexed territory, and it seems unfortunate that so valuable a property should have been practically given away to a man who had no claims, eithe hereditary or by right of conquest, to it.

Hyderabad.

I have already incidentally referred to Hyderabad. The history of this State for a considerable period is intimately connected with that of the French in India. The relations of the British with the Nizam underwent from time to time a variety of changes, into the details of which it is unnecessary here to enter. Suffice it to say that when war broke out with Tippu Sultan in 1789, the Nizam thought it wise to side with the English, and a Triple Alliance was entered into, the Peshwa being the third party.

This treaty of alliance has, of course, varied from time to time, and has been modified and amended; but the alliance still exists, the Nizam is officially referred to as "our faithful ally," and though the terms of engagements with him follow more or less the same model as those existing with other important Chiefs, still, the fact remains that at root the Nizam is our ally in a rather stricter sense than are other Chiefs.

I have so far dealt with the transactions arising out of the general policy of preserving the independence of Native States. I now come to that of annexation, and will endeavour to show that such a drastic solution of difficulties which faced the British was the only path open to them.

We have seen how the territory of the Rajah of Nagpur came to be annexed, and how the Mahratta power of the Peshwa had been finally extinguished, and how his territories passed under British rule.

Sattara.

Out of these was reconstituted in 1819 the State of Sattara under a lineal descendant of Sivaji, whose dynasty had been supplanted by the Peshwa.

The last Rajah died in 1848 without issue; on his deathbed he had adopted a boy who had no direct claims by family or descent. After considerable discussion, Lord Dalhousie considered that the right of the British Government to the territories by lapse was quite clear, and the Court of Directors with the consent of the Board of Control agreed. The State merged in the British possessions without any opposition by the people, who had no particular sympathy with a boy who had no pretensions to royal descent.

Coorg.

Coorg, originally a dependency of Mysore, had suffered terrible oppression and cruelty from Tippu Sultan. In February, 1792, on the conclusion of peace with that adventurer, the treaty included terms which brought Coorg,

which had materially aided the British and dreaded Tippu's vengeance, within the protection of the British.

The Rajah was allowed to retain his independence; being, however, subject to fits of insanity, his state suffered from gross mismanagement. His successor was no better, and began by strangling all his near relatives. Remonstrances and appeals by the Governor-General only resulted in grossly insulting replies. War was declared on March 15, 1834; the Rajah surrendered and was pensioned.

The country was annexed at the unanimous wish of the inhabitants, and with a guarantee that they should not again be subject to native rule.

Sind.

Sind had experienced the chequered career common to Native States, the details of which need not be recited.

After being invaded by the Arabs in 711, it became alternately subject to Mohammedan and Hindu rule, at one time asserting its independence, at another being suppressed. Finally, in 1836, Ranjit Singh threatened to invade the country, but in 1838 an agreement was come to by the British, Sikhs, and Afghans, by which the interest of the Mirs of Sind were safeguarded. Terms of alliance were offered by the British, and accepted by the Mirs, securing effective control over their country, which indeed proved indispensable in connection with our advance on and retreat from Cabul.

The terms of this treaty have been described as harsh and humiliating. Still, however, during the operations in Afghanistan the Mirs observed them faithfully.

A later treaty deprived them of considerable territory; and, acting under a sense of ill-treatment, they concentrated their forces, fought stubbornly at Meeani (January 20, 1843), but were beaten by Sir Charles Napier, and annexation followed.

The whole question of the annexation of Sind has been the subject of bitter controversy; but there is this much o

be said, that had the country not fallen to us, it would most certainly have been occupied by the Afghans or Sikhs, and we should have had eventually to recover a province of vital strategic value from one or the other.

Punjab.

The next annexation to come under notice is that of the Punjab. It is unnecessary to go into the rise of the Sikh power, and its consolidation as a nation under Ranjit Singh; suffice it to say that, by the treaty of Lahore of 1809, we put a limit to any further encroachment by him, leaving the country beyond the Sutlej to his entire control, and that, till he died in 1839, he remained a firm and loyal ally of the British Government.

Unfortunately for the Sikhs, his successors were feeble and vicious, and consequently unable to preserve law and order. One Chief after another had assumed the administration, and each in turn was overthrown or assassinated.

The army, having got rid of the French Generals who had organized it and were commanding it, became uncontrollable, and looking upon itself as the supreme authority, had become masters of the Punjab. When the storm broke, Lal Singh, the Prime Minister, and Tej Singh, the Commander-in-Chief, were the nominal administrators of the country on behalf of Dhulip Singh, the only surviving son of Ranjit Singh, aged five years. For them the situation had become intolerable, and they made it their business to arouse in the ranks of the army a spirit of hostility to the British, hoping that if the troops could be encouraged to march against the British, the army might be weakened, if not destroyed.

While this was going on Lord Ellenborough, seeing that the prevailing anarchy was bound to produce a crisis sooner or later, made suitable preparations to meet it by moving up troops from Kurnal to Amballa. His successor, Sir Henry Hardinge, quietly continued to strengthen the forces in the North-West, ready to move at the first signal. These

precautions, which were such as he had a perfect right to make, were interpreted by the Sikh army as a challenge, and on December 11, 1845, it crossed the Sutlej near Ferozepur. Then followed in succession the battles of Mudki, Ferozeshah, and Sobraon, February 10, 1846, and the occupation of Lahore. A treaty was then arranged by which certain territories were surrendered to the British, including Kashmir, which was promptly sold to Goolab Singh for a crore of rupees. Lal Singh remained Vizier and Tej Singh Commander-in-Chief, and at their request a British force was retained at Lahore. It was further arranged, December 16, 1846, that the administration should be entrusted to a Council of Regency presided over by the great Sir Henry Lawrence.

For fifteen months things seemed to be going smoothly, and when Sir Henry left for Europe he considered that the tranquillity of the country was assured. Sir F. Currie, who succeeded him, was satisfied that no disaffection was to be apprehended.

Local disturbances at Mooltan, beginning with the murder of two British officers connected with the administration—Agnew and Anderson—followed by the siege of Mooltan, was the match that set alight a fresh conflagration. The Sikh troops threw off all disguise, joined the insurgents, and defied the British; then followed the battles of Chillianwallah and Gujerat, and the annexation of the Punjab by proclamation dated March 29, 1849.

Oudh.

As in the case of certain other kingdoms, the Province of Oudh had developed from a viceroyalty of the Emperor of Delhi into a practically independent State, though the rulers continued for long to be styled Viziers of Oudh. With this State the Company entered into an alliance of reciprocal friendship by the treaty of August 16, 1765. Ten years later Warren Hastings assisted the Vizier in the annexation of Rohilcund, and, as a result, the combined

territories constituted a convenient barrier against the Mahrattas as a buffer State in friendly alliance with the British Government. Unfortunately, from this time on the Government of the King of Oudh continued to be corrupt and inefficient; and in spite of continual warnings things only went from bad to worse—the army was lawless and mutinous, while rebellion and robbery were rampant. The kingdom only existed by the support of the British and the presence of a British subsidiary force. Such a condition of affairs could not go on indefinitely. In 1831 the Vizier was warned in the most solemn and emphatic manner by Lord William Bentinck, and again in 1837 by Lord Auckland.

The Governor-General proposed that practically the same steps which had been taken with Mysore in 1831 should be adopted—viz., that if gross systematic oppression, anarchy, and misrule should prevail in the Oudh dominions, the British Government should reserve to itself the right to appoint its own officers to carry out reforms, while maintaining indigenous institutions and forms of administration *so as to facilitate the restoration of the territories of Oudh when the proper time should arrive.*

This plan might have saved Oudh from annexation for the time being; but the home authorities disallowed the proposed treaty. In 1847 Lord Hardinge gave the King two years to put things straight, but time brought no improvement. At last no alternative was left to Lord Dalhousie. For fifty years neglect and indifference had prevailed, and nothing remained but to assume the administration of the State—whether as a final remedy or pending the subsequent restoration to a native ruler on some modified terms of sovereignty has been the subject of much discussion. The latter alternative received the support of Lord Dalhousie, but the supreme authorities overruled the Governor-General and decided upon absolute annexation. So on February 7, 1856, the territory of Oudh ceased to exist as an independent sovereignty.

I have endeavoured to show that intervention, or, as a last resource, annexation, has been forced on the British Government by circumstances for which it was not responsible and which were absolutely unavoidable. To have turned a deaf ear to the appeals of various States for help against their more powerful and overbearing neighbours would have been to connive at their disappearance; to have stood by while disorder, anarchy, and oppression prevailed in adjoining territory would have been to neglect the plain duty of a civilized nation and to run the risk of the disease infecting its own subjects; to have allowed an undisciplined horde of bandits to devastate adjoining territory and threaten its own would have been, not only to incur this risk, but to neglect the first law of nature. And so, having become a power in the land, the British had to accept corresponding responsibilities. The story of the origin and rise of British power in India is foreign to the object of my address. I start with the fact that it existed, and I am only concerned with a sketch of its dealings with other contemporary powers.

In dealing with Native States, their conditions, size, origin, development preclude the possibility of applying any definite code which could cover the innumerable and varying matters which arise and claim the consideration of the British Government and its officers.

The varying characters of the Chiefs themselves have to be taken into account, and the fact that each one exercises more or less absolute power; also that, until a comparatively recent date, few had any education. In some States the ruler and the ruled differ in religion, in others the nobles were powerful and ready to enforce their will on their Chief, in others no nobles exist, having been all suppressed. Some States were simply territories seized by adventurers, while others were being squeezed to death by their more powerful neighbours. These conditions also go to show that much tact, forbearance, and consideration have to be

exercised in dealing with the multitude of questions which are constantly cropping up, and considerable judgment used in considering how far interference is wise or reasonable, and how difficult is the task presented to the Government and its Agents in guiding its allies along the common road to progress without unduly encroaching on the sovereign rights which have been guaranteed to them.

What, then, is the nature of the treaties and engagements entered into between the Company and the Protected States, and accepted by the British Government as binding on it, and how are the relations between the two parties regulated?

In its early days the Company in its treaties with ruling Chiefs decided to adopt a policy of non-interference with the internal affairs of the States. In course of time this position had to be somewhat modified. As the country became more settled, difficulties presented themselves in dealing with conditions which arose in the process of introducing good order and civilization in British territory, while our neighbours were making little or no progress in the same direction.

The following are the leading principles embodied in the engagements entered into with Native States:

1. Succession is guaranteed to lineal descendants, whether by blood or adoption, except in case of disqualification by manifest unfitness to rule. In the event of failure of such descendants, the Governor-General in Council may select any member of any collateral branch of the family.

2. The Chief shall at all times remain faithful in allegiance and subordination to the King-Emperor.

3. The Chief shall not build any new fortresses or repair any existing strongholds.

4. He shall not allow the manufacture in, or the importation into, his State of munitions of war.

5. No objection shall be raised to the establishment of British cantonments in his State, for which he shall grant land free, and within which he shall renounce jurisdiction.

Every facility shall be given for provision of supplies to the troops, and all necessary sanitary measures shall be carried out in lands adjoining cantonments.

6. The limit to the military forces employed by the State, approved by the Governor-General, shall not be exceeded.

7. The Chief shall not have any communication with any other State, except through the medium of the Governor-General.

8. The sanction of the Governor-General shall be obtained to the employment of any person not a native of India, who may also be dismissed at the wish of the Governor-General.

9. Coins of the Government of India shall be legal tender.

10. Land shall be granted free for lines of telegraph and telephone, which shall form part of the British system, and be worked by the British Government.

11. Land shall be provided free for all railways, and plenary jurisdiction therein transferred to the Governor-General.

12. Every facility shall be afforded for the extradition of criminals and procuring of witnesses.

13. No European or American shall be employed without the sanction of the British Government; and plenary jurisdiction over any employed is vested in the Governor-General.

14. The manufacture of salt and opium shall be limited in accordance with the wishes of the Governor-General.

15. The Chief shall at all times conform to such advice as the Governor-General may offer in objects connected with the interests of the Chief, the happiness of his subjects, and his relations with the British Government.

16. There are usually references to the duty of providing for the common defence and the obligation to furnish troops or an equivalent in money, as and when required.

17. In the event of breach or non-observance of conditions laid down, the Governor-General shall be at liberty

to provide for the good government of the State and the security of British interests.

Here and there specially applicable conditions are also included, but the foregoing gives a general idea of the more important requirements.

On the other hand, what, briefly, do the states get as a set-off to these terms? They get a great deal, though it only requires a very few words to express it:

1. Absolute protection from all danger—external or internal—as part of the Empire, from foreign interference; inside the Empire, from their neighbours and within their own territories, from unjustifiable rebellion.

2. All the value that attaches to the services of the Imperial Merchant Service, railways, telegraphs, markets, sanitary services, and all those advantages accruing to membership of the mightiest Empire in the world.

3. Individual protection for every inhabitant all over the world as citizens of the Empire.

4. The right to manage their own affairs in their own way without any interference from the Imperial Government.

I may have omitted some advantages, but such as I have mentioned have a value which it is not easy to over-estimate.

The expression "Indian treaties" covers three varieties of agreement—viz., treaties, engagements, and sanads. The latter may be taken to mean a grant, privilege, or right.

Treaties run in the name of the Governor-General in Council. The articles are such as are likely to have permanent force. Matters of detail are provided for by subsidiary rules. In order to avoid all possible disputes as to meaning conveyed by different vernaculars the authorized version of a treaty is in English.

Taking the sketch treaty already quoted as our text, we may briefly examine the obligations entered into by both parties.

The most important case of the employment of sanads was the grant of "adoption sanads" by Lord Canning,

addressed to all important ruling Chiefs, by which Her Majesty undertook to recognize, on failure of natural heirs, the adoption of successors according to Hindu or Mohammedan law, *always provided* that the Chief remains loyal to the Crown and conditions of treaties, grants, and engagements entered into with the British Government. Where such sanads have not been granted to less important States the general policy of permitting adoption has been recognized, provided sanction has been accorded in each case. It has been distinctly laid down that it is the right and duty of the British Government to settle successions in subordinate States.

Every succession must be recognized by the British Government; this being so, Government has the right of intervention to settle disputed successions. In connection with this subject, Government assumes the right to take charge of States during minority, and to see that the minor chief is properly educated.

No undertaking of the British Government was ever hailed with such universal satisfaction and approval as that embodied in the sanads of adoption, inasmuch as it made clear the anxiety of the Paramount Power to preserve the continued existence and independence of its subordinate allies.

The duty of loyalty need not be insisted on; it is the root of the connection. Lord Canning expressly recorded that the desire of Government that independent States should be perpetuated did not diminish the right of Government to visit a State with the heaviest penalties, even to confiscation, in the event of disloyalty or flagrant breach of engagements, and more than once Government has asserted its right to punish subjects of Native States who have been guilty of rebellion or murder.

The conditions regarding fortresses and munitions of war are the natural results of the duty of protection assumed by the British Government and the surrender by Chiefs of the right to make war. Such arms and ammuni-

tion as may be required are supplied on payment from British arsenals, or may be purchased elsewhere under special sanction through the Political Agent.

The British Government assumes the absolute right to occupy any military positions it deems fit in any of the Protected States, either for the purpose of defence or in the interests of good order—*e.g.*, Bangalore, Secunderabad. A British cantonment therefore becomes for the time being a detached portion of British territory, and subject to the laws and regulations which the Governor-General sees fit to apply to it. The area thus occupied is merely lent, and reverts to the Native State whenever the cantonment is given up. As a case in point, the area occupied by the Morar Cantonment and Fort of Gwalior were handed over to Scindia by Lord Dufferin in 1886, when the military occupation ceased.

In exchange for protection it is only reasonable to demand assistance for procuring supplies for the protecting army, whether in cantonments or on the line of march. How readily and generously our protected allies have afforded assistance to the forces of the Empire on active service will not be by any means the least important record of the Great War.

Protection having been guaranteed, it follows that the armies of Native States should be limited to what is reasonably required for the dignity of the chief and the preservation of order in his territory, that the entertainment of foreign mercenaries should be prohibited, and that the forces should be recruited only from the population of the States.

Apart from other reasons, the danger to a State itself and to its neighbours which might result from too large an armed force or the employment of soldiers of fortune is self-evident.

No one State can have any direct dealings with any other State either in the way of treaties, exchange of territories, financial transactions, etc. The Government of

India represents the States in their intercourse with each other. It is plain that it would be out of the question for States to settle their disputes with each other by direct negotiation, which might easily result in unseemly squabbles or appeal to arms.

Within comparatively recent times, breaches of this condition have led to very drastic action by the Imperial Government, such as the reduction of salutes and even the deposition of the Chief, and there are cases where financial transactions between Chiefs have had the most disastrous results.

The prohibition to employ anyone but a native of India, which specially applies to Americans and Europeans, is necessary because the supreme Government is bound to protect Native States from adventurers, and to satisfy itself as to the character of those who take service with Ruling Chiefs.

In regard to coinage. Besides the claim for legal tender of British coins, it has been laid down that where mints do exist in Native States, they shall be worked at the capital, and under proper control and supervision. As a matter of fact, the only mints in existence are that of H.H. the Nizam, and possibly one or two more.

In regard to railways, considering the number of Native States through which many lines run, all sorts of difficulties would arise unless Government were assured of unfettered jurisdiction over all railways and connected areas; for instance, in connection with break of gauge, through booking, the timing of trains, safety of passengers and goods, the tracing and apprehension of criminals, etc. In all these and many other cases multiplied jurisdiction would render systematic working impossible.

The free grant of land, the supply of materials and labour at fair rates, required for construction and repair of communication by road, and later by rail and telegraph, have always formed an item in agreements with Native States. Where States have provided capital for their own

railways, they have usually been constructed by the Imperial railway administration, and are treated as branches of the Imperial systems, being worked by the latter on contract as between the States and the Secretary of State for India.

In regard to extradition, so far as Europeans go the agreement only works one way. A European who commits an offence in native territory is either tried by the Political Agent or committed to a British court. On the other hand, the British Government cannot legally extradite a European offender to a Native State; he is liable to British jurisdiction for offences against the law of India committed in foreign territory.

So far as natives of India are concerned, the law of extradition works both ways, and it is usual to leave to Native States jurisdiction over such British subjects as break their laws. The Government of India claims extradition of deserters from the Imperial Army, but does not undertake to extradite deserters from armies of Native States.

The right to protection involves the corresponding duty to aid in common defence. The principle of military co-operation in some form or other has always been recognized. It took the shape in early days of bodies of troops of certain states called contingents, commanded and equipped by British officers, but all these, with the exception of the Hyderabad Contingent, disappeared with the Mutiny, and this Contingent has quite recently been merged in the Imperial forces. There were also subsidiary forces, troops of the Indian Army, stationed in Native States by their special request for the protection of the States and the ruling families, their cost being met by the assignment of certain districts to the British Government for their support. Of these, only one remains—the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force cantoned at Secunderabad. The experiment of providing Imperial service troops, which was developed under the auspices of Lord Dufferin, and which has proved

a political and military success, has, among other advantages, that of enlisting the personal interest of the Chiefs themselves, and of creating among the various units a healthy spirit of esprit de corps.

It also tends to efficiency and economy, a smaller number of efficient troops replacing larger forces of inefficient levies. The troops are trained under the superintendence of an Inspector-General and his assistants, but are commanded and officered by the Chiefs and their Sirdars. On many occasions their services have been accepted by the Government, and most, if not all, of them have formed part of one or other of the Imperial forces engaged in the Great War.

All expenses over and above those usually incurred in time of peace are met by the Imperial Government.

Although the policy of the British Government has been all along to avoid unnecessary interference in the affairs of Native States as tending to lessen their prestige, power, and utility, yet the Government has distinctly adopted the principle that under certain well understood but undefined conditions it has the right to interfere to set right such serious abuses as threaten to produce disturbance or anarchy.

With a view to insure the continuity of Native States, Government has laid down the rule that a Chief cannot bequeath his State as he pleases or encumber it with injurious legacies. The acquisition of land in British territory is discouraged, because it is inconvenient that an independent Chief should come under the jurisdiction of British courts.

From the earliest times the Company in their treaties insisted on solemn undertakings by Native States to suppress uncivilized practices and crimes against humanity, such as infanticide, suttee, torture, mutilation, etc., and Lord William Bentinck passed a regulation in 1830 which declared the aiding and abetting of suttee to be culpable homicide.

It is the prerogative of the Crown to grant honours and distinctions, and to decide on all questions of precedence.

The Ruling Chiefs are never called royalties, nor are their sons styled Princes, a style alone appertaining to Ruling Chiefs themselves.

Perhaps I may be allowed to express my views for what they are worth on a subject which vitally affects the relations of our dependent allies with the supreme Government, and in regard to which I have some experience.

Naturally the education of Ruling Chiefs must have a more important bearing than anything else on the standpoint from which they regard their responsibilities to the Imperial Government and their duties to their subjects.

Up to a point their education proceeds on ordinary lines along a carefully laid out course, either at a Chiefs' college or under specially selected tutors and guardians. But beyond this each heir-apparent or minor requires special education in his own particular responsibilities or duties, and in the terms of such treaties, engagements, or sanads on which his title rests, and all this can only be acquired by a careful course of instruction which cannot obviously be applied at a college or by a tutor in the ordinary course of general study. In the case of heirs-apparent, the duty of carrying out this policy would be undertaken by the Ruling Chief, who would entrust the so-to-speak technical education of his heir to some qualified individual, and if he omitted to do this the Government would assert its right of interference.

But in the case of minors, as already stated, the Imperial Government assumes the right to take charge of States during minorities, and to satisfy itself that the minor Chief is properly educated.

The question is what sort of training in administration does a prospective Ruling Chief get? There is also another question which may be considered here.

The age of eighteen is that at which a minor arrives at his majority and at which the Government of India entrusts

him with ruling powers. Now administrative training cannot obviously be given while a lad is undergoing ordinary tuition. Any steps taken to put young Chiefs through a course of training in the business of government can only be adopted after they have left school.

My own opinion, which I know to be shared by others whose business it has been to consider these matters, is that the grant of full powers to a minor the moment he reaches the age of eighteen, simply because he has attained that age, and before he has had time to learn his work, is most unwise.

It simply means leaving him to the tender mercies of such influences as may succeed in imposing themselves on him either for good or otherwise.

It must be remembered that, within certain limitations imposed by the terms of treaties and engagements with the Imperial Government, a Ruling Chief is a more or less absolute despot, there is no one to dispute his will. So long as he does not commit some gross indiscretion, there is nothing, in the absence of careful training and education, to prevent his doing a vast amount of mischief; and however carefully his State may have been nursed during his minority, there is very little to prevent him from making hay of the whole business and disorganizing the machinery of the State once he is invested with full powers.

The duty of the Imperial Government to the Chief and State, so far as the education of a young Chief is concerned, does not end the moment he is turned eighteen. It is the opinion of those capable of forming one on the matter that a young Chief should be put through a progressive course of instruction in administrative duties, and be initiated into the details of each department of the State before he can be considered qualified to assume full control; this period of training might reasonably extend over three years, at the end of which period only full power should be conferred. Once he had grasped the general principles of organization, he would readily understand the nature of the checks to be

applied, and be fairly qualified to form an intelligent opinion on the state of his affairs generally and on such individual questions as might be referred to him and his advisers.

To assist him in acquiring the necessary information and to guide him in his studies, he would of course require the services of some experienced and trustworthy official, and in case of need such an officer could always be lent by the Government.

It would be on the face of it unfair to place a young Chief on the guddi and to invest him with practically unlimited power in nearly every direction, while at the same time withdrawing all those props which, during his minority, have been considered indispensable to the proper management of the affairs of his State, and then to leave him to his own devices and those of irresponsible associates and officials who, quite possibly, may have no particular desire to see him thoroughly qualified to look after his own affairs—rather the contrary.

Further, to give a Chief a liberal education and to leave him with no similarly educated companions is also to more or less encourage him to descend to their level, or to make him dissatisfied with his surroundings.

Every endeavour should be made to secure that some of his Sirdars should be sufficiently educated to afford him proper companionship.

If it is decided that his education should include the grand tour, arrangements should be such as to secure that he travels more or less incognito, and any attempt to lionize him should be discouraged.

Whether the relations of a Ruling Chief towards the Paramount Power are pleasant and cordial depends to a very great extent on the character of the political officer who is its agent and representative. The position is one which demands the utmost patience and tact.

The political officer has not only to deal directly with the Chief, but, as I have shown, has to settle a multitude of questions with the various State officials, and nowhere

does the principle of *noblesse oblige* find such a field for action.

The supreme Government assumes in so many words the right to offer advice to Ruling Chiefs, but the method of explaining its views is left to the political officer; and it all depends on his attitude towards the Chief and his officials whether the advice is accepted cheerfully and willingly or otherwise.

A brusque and peremptory method of conveying the views of the Government—what I may call the "Jo Hukun" attitude—only encourages opposition; at the same time, it must be made quite plain in a kindly and friendly manner that the offer of advice is a serious matter which cannot be evaded.

From these remarks it will be gathered the political officers require the most careful selection and training, and must be possessed of quite special aptitude for their duties. That the Government has, generally speaking, been fortunate in the choice of its Agents the pleasant relations which have usually existed between the Ruling Chiefs and Government and its representatives bear witness.

I should like here to quote the advice given to his assistants by Sir John Malcolm when Agent to the Governor-General in Central India. It applies in nearly all respects as much in our day as it did then, and copies of the full text might well form part of the outfit of every British official, to whatever department he may belong.

EXTRACT FROM APPENDIX XVIII., VOL. II., "MEMOIR OF CENTRAL INDIA," 1823, BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOHN MALCOLM, G.C.B.

Almost all who from knowledge and experience have been capable of forming any judgment on the question are agreed that our power in India rests on the general opinion of the natives of our comparative superiority in good faith, wisdom, and strength to their own rulers. This important impression will be improved by the consideration we show to their habits, institutions, and religion; by the moderation, temper, and kindness with which we conduct ourselves

towards them; and injured by every act that offends their belief or superstition, that shows disregard or neglect of individuals or communities, or that evinces our having, with the arrogance of conquerors, forgotten those maxims by which this great Empire has been established and by which alone it can be preserved.

The people of India must, by a recurring sense of benefits, have amends made to them for the degradation of continuing subject to foreign masters; and this alone can be done by the combined efforts of every individual employed in a station of trust and responsibility to render popular a Government which, though not national, has its foundation laid deep on the principles of toleration, justice, and wisdom. Every Agent of Government should study and understand the above facts. He should not content himself with having acquired a knowledge of the language and of the customs of those with whom he has intercourse; all his particular acts (even to the manner of them) should be regulated by recurrence to the foundation of our rule, and a careful observation of those principles by which it has been established and can alone be maintained.

Of the importance of this I cannot better state my opinion than by expressing my full conviction that, independent of the prescribed duties which every qualified officer performs, there is no person in a situation of any consequence who does not, both in the substance and manner of his conduct, do something every day in his life which, as it operates upon the general interests of the Empire through the feelings of the circle he controls or rules, has an unseen effect in strengthening or weakening the Government by which he is employed. My belief that what I have assumed is correct will be my excuse for going into some minuteness in my general instructions to those under my orders.

The first, and one of the most important, points is the manner of European superiors towards natives. It would be quite out of place here to speak of the necessity of kindness and the absence of all violence; this must be a matter of course with those I am addressing. There is much more required of them than that conciliation which is a duty, but which, when it appears as such, loses half its effect. It must, to make an impression, be a habit of mind grounded on a favourable consideration of the qualities and merits of those to whom it extends; and this impression, I am satisfied, every person will have who, after attaining a thorough knowledge of the real character of those with whom he has intercourse, shall judge them, without

prejudice or self-conceit, by a standard which is suited to their belief, their occupation, their rank in life, their usages, their habits, the ideas they have imbibed from infancy, and the stage of civilization to which the community as a whole has advanced. If he does so, with that knowledge and that temper of mind which are essential to render him competent to form an opinion, he will find enough of virtue, enough of docility and disposition to improvement, enough of regard and observance of all the best and most sacred ties of society, to create an esteem for individuals and an interest in the community which, when grounded on a sincere conviction of its being deserved, will render his kindness natural and conciliating. All human beings, down to the lowest links of the chain, inclusive of children, are quick in tracing the source of the manners in others, and, above all, of their superiors. When that is regulated by the *head*, and not by the heart; when it proceeds from *reason*, and not from *feeling*, it cannot please; for it has in it, if at all artificial, a show of design which repels, as it generates suspicion. When this manner takes another shape, when kindness and consideration appear as acts of condescension, it must be felt as offensive. Men may dread, but can never love or regard, those who are continually humiliating them by the parade of superiority.

I have recommended these foundations of manner towards the natives of India upon which I feel my own to be grounded. I can recollect (and I do it with shame) the period when I thought I was very superior to those with whom my duty made me associate; but as my knowledge of them and of myself improved, the distance between us gradually lessened. I have seen and heard much of our boasted advantage over them, but cannot think that, if all the ranks of all the different communities of Europe and India are comparatively viewed, there is just ground for any arrogant feeling on the part of the inhabitants of the former; nor can I join in that commonplace opinion which condemns in a sweeping way the natives of this country as men not only unworthy of trust and devoid of principle, but of too limited intelligence and reach of thought to allow of Europeans, with large and liberal minds and education, having rational or satisfactory intercourse with them.

Many of the moral defects of the natives of India are to be referred to that misrule and oppression from which they have been emancipated. I do not know the example of any great population, in similar circumstances, preserving through such a period of change and tyrannical rule so

much of virtue and so many good qualities as are to be found in a great proportion of the inhabitants of this country.

I must here remark that I have invariably found, unless in a few cases where knowledge had not overcome self-sufficiency and arrogance, that in proportion as European officers, civil and military, advanced in their acquaintance with the languages and customs of the natives of India, they became more sincerely kind to them; and, on the contrary, ignorance always accompanied that selfish pride and want of consideration which held them light or treated them with harshness.

I am quite satisfied in my own mind that if there is one cause more than another that will impede our progress to the general improvement of India, it is a belief formed by its population that they are viewed as an inferior or degraded race; but, on the other hand, if the persons employed in every branch of the administration of this great country, while their conduct marks those rigid principles of virtue and justice, under the check of which they act, comport themselves towards the people whom it is their duty to make happy with that sincere humanity of heart which always belongs to real knowledge, and which attaches while it elevates, they will contribute by such manner, more than any measure of boasted wisdom can, to the strength and duration of their Government.

It is of importance to state my opinion that in our manner to the natives, though it is our duty to understand and pay every deference to their customs and usages, and to conform to these as far as we can with propriety, particularly when the religious prejudices or the rank of those with whom we have intercourse require it, yet we should always preserve the European; for to adopt their manner is a departure from the very principle on which every impression of our superiority that rests upon good foundation is grounded. We should take a lesson on such points from what we see occur to native Princes and others who ape English habits and modes; they lose ground with one class—that to which they belong—without gaining with the other—that to which they wish to approximate.

The intercourse to be maintained with the natives is of two kinds—private and official. The first should extend as much as possible to all classes, and be as familiar, as kind, and as frequent as the difference of habits and pursuits will permit. There is a veil between the natives of India and Europeans which leaves the latter ignorant in an extraordinary degree of the real character of the former.

In private intercourse much may be learnt that will facilitate the performance of public duty, and give that knowledge of the usages and feelings of the various classes of natives which will enable its possessors to touch every chord with effect.

In all official intercourse with natives, one of the first points of importance is that these, whatever be their rank, class, or business, should have complete and easy access to personal communication with European officials. Though native subordinates must be employed and trusted, they can never be used without hazard as exclusive mediums of intercourse; their real or supposed influence gives them opportunities of abusing the confidence placed in them. There is no remedy for such an evil except being completely easy of access. No native subordinate, high or low, must be allowed the privilege of either introducing or stopping an applicant or a complaint. It requires much temper and patience, constant activity, and no slight sacrifice of personal comfort, to maintain an intercourse with natives on this footing. In establishing this direct personal intercourse, it is better perhaps that natives of all classes and ranks should have admission, and be heard at whatever hour of the day they come, except those of meals; but where such constant intrusion is found to interrupt other business, certain portions of the day must be set apart to see those who desire to be seen.

The next important point to be observed in official intercourse with natives is "publicity." Every Agent will find his means of doing good advanced, his toil lessened, and the power of the designing and corrupt to misrepresent his actions or intentions decreased in the proportion that he transacts affairs in public. He should avoid as much as possible private conferences. These will be eagerly sought for, for they give the individual admitted the appearance of favour and influence. I know of no method of preventing the mischief which this impression gives men the power of effecting but habitual publicity in transacting business.

One of my chief objects has been to impress in the most forcible manner the great benefits which are to be expected from a kind and conciliatory manner and a constant friendly intercourse with those under your direction or control.

There is much more in this Appendix, referring chiefly to the relations between Political Officers and rulers of

Native States, which would occupy too much room to quote here, but which would well repay the attention of officers of the Indian Foreign Department.

This review of the relations between the Native States and the Paramount Powers is necessarily very sketchy, and much more might have been said did time permit. My apology for addressing an audience so well instructed in Indian affairs must be that those same affairs cover so wide an area that, while some have studied one branch and others some of the many other branches, it is possible that there are some who lack information on the particular subject I have brought forward.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, February 26, 1917, a paper was read by Mr. T. H. S. Biddulph, C.I.E., entitled, "The Native States of India in their Relation with the Paramount Power." Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Donald Robertson, K.C.S.I., was in the chair. The following, amongst others, were present: Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Mr. Abbas Ali Baig, C.S.I., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Lord Strabolgie, Sir William Cospatrick Dunbar, Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir William Ovens Clark, Colonel M. J. Meade, C.I.E., Mrs. Meade, Lady Kensington, Mr. T. C. Sykes, Miss Sykes, Mrs. Collis, Mrs. Grigg, Mrs. Breeks, Lieut.-Colonel C. M. Dallas, Mrs. Dallas, Mr. R. Sewell, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. and Mrs. Adams, Miss Wade, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mr. Owen Dunn, Miss Dunlop Smith, Mrs. Frank Abbott, Mrs. Harrington, Mr. Donald Macpherson, Mrs. Pollett, Mrs. Corbyn, Mr. E. H. Tabak, Mr. Dingwall, Miss Prendergast, Mrs. Archibald Little, Rev. W. Broadbent, Mrs. Huddlestone, Mrs. Nash, Mr. Haji, Mr. Mukarji, Mr. Walter Davies, Miss Webster, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. Firoz, Mrs. Brekson, Mr. Aram, Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. Leslie Moore, Mrs. Phillips, Mr. Mohini M. Dhar, Mr. Mauzar, Mrs. Whalley Wickham, Mr. and Mrs. Anderson, Colonel and Mrs. Goodenough, Miss Macdonald, Mrs. Couchman, Miss Stoton, Mr. and Mrs. F. T. De Monte, Mrs. Farquharson, Mrs. Ironside, Miss Hurst, Mr. B. M. Lal, Mr. E. D. Carolis, Mr. Phillipowsky, Mr. J. Khanna, Mr. K. A. Ali, Mrs. Morgan, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. West, Mrs. M. T. Jackson, Mrs. and Miss Grose, Miss Dunderdale, Mrs. Selway White, Mr., Mrs., and Miss Sen, Mrs. Fitzroy Munday, Mrs. Gillian Fergusson, Dr. Prankerd, Mrs. Kinnier-Tarte, Colonel and Mrs. Roberts, Rev. F. Penny, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mrs. and Miss Dodd, Mr. Ahmad, Mr. Khaja Ismail, Mrs. Biddulph, Mrs. Taylor, Mr. K. C. Bhandari, General Beresford Lovatt, Mr. Goward, Mr. B. R. Amhedker, Mr. J. S. Dhunjibhoy, Mr. J. Fitz Gerald Ruthven, Colonel Coburn, Mr. W. Frank, Mr. F. P. Marchant, the Misses Ward, Mrs. Drury, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. Ryan, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, it is my pleasure to introduce to you—no doubt a great many of you know him better than I do—Mr. Biddulph, who for many years occupied a very high position in the Accounts Department under the Government of India. I confess that I was always rather afraid of an Accounts Officer: there was no knowing what in the course of his excavations he might not unearth; but I comforted myself with the Persian saying, which will appeal, I am sure, to all in this learned assembly, "*Har ke hissab pàk dàrad az makàsiba che bàk dàrad.*" (Cries of "Translate.") Well, the translation is: "He who has clean accounts, why need he fear the Accountant?" Mr. Biddulph does not come before you to-day entirely as an Accounts Officer. He has had a considerable experience of Native States, in that he was deputed to these principalities to help them unravel their financial system, which he did with great practical skill and effect; and in the course of this duty it became his business to probe the administration of the various departments, with the result that he acquired a mass of information generally denied to the ordinary political officer. I quite well understand the rule that the Chairman should get out of the way of the Lecturer as soon as possible, and I will not offend in that respect further than to ask your forbearance whilst I make a few brief remarks on Native States.

It was my good fortune to serve many years of my life in these principalities, and the conditions there were vastly different from what we now see them. The Chiefs lived in conditions of more or less pompous isolation, no doubt in considerable grandeur; they had little or no intercourse with each other; travelling was difficult, as most of us knew to our cost who had to travel in camel carriages, and so on; communications were poor; the telegraph system had not been appreciably extended; the postal facilities were very meagre and confined mainly to foot-runners; there were, in short, none of the scientific adjuncts to modern administration which are now regarded as so essential. It was said some years ago, that if we wanted to see the true India, undisturbed by Western influences, the places to go to were the Native States, and I think that that was very true. Their administration was, judged from the standpoint of to-day, undoubtedly backward, but these out-of-the-way places were very pleasant to live in. The Chiefs ruled their States after a patriarchal fashion, and their people were contented; at least, they were as contented as any other people in British India. I dare say some of you may remember a controversy which raged some years ago, as to the respective merits and disadvantages of the administration of Native States and British India, and I do not think anybody was ever enabled to arrive at a satisfactory solution, though it can hardly be questioned that the former possess the much-desired quality of elasticity, which is denied to our cut-and-dried system. Nowadays these states have all sorts of what I may term, for want of a better word, ameliorations, in the shape of Representative Assemblies, Legislative Councils, Agricultural Savings Banks and, in some cases I hear, compulsory education. They may become in time—indeed, are rapidly becoming, from our point of view—

more *efficient*. I know the Government of India have written up *efficiency* all over their secretariats, and worship it as a fetish. Indeed, a very brilliant Viceroy once said: "An efficient administration connotes a happy population." Whether that is true or not, I take some leave to doubt; at any rate, it is very necessary to define your terms before you come to any conclusion about what constitutes efficient administration.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I will not detain you any longer, but I will say this last word. I rejoice extremely to find that the Government of India are at last awakening to the vast importance of the Native States as a branch of the Indian administration. I think, to a certain extent, this is apparent in the appointment of His Highness the Maharajah of Bikanir to represent India on the War Conference, and I hope that this really means that the Government of India have now come to the conclusion that the Native Chiefs are not only (as they really are) the natural and proper leaders of the people, but also the veritable pillars of the Indian Empire.

I will now call upon the Lecturer to read his paper.

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, perhaps I may just sketch the further progress of our meeting here to-day. The paper before me suggests that the Chairman should invite discussion, but your Secretary has relieved me—indeed, it would be hardly possible—from discussing this very exhaustive lecture of Mr. Biddulph, an abundance of matter compressed in a very small space. We could not really do the subject justice unless we stayed here all night. I suggest, therefore, that the speeches be now confined to two. I am sure one of these, by my friend Mr. Yusuf Ali, will be welcomed, and I ask him to address you now; his speech will, I feel sure, be ably seconded by Mr. Abbas Ali Beg, and after that Mr. Biddulph will show you some pictures on the screen of Native States, and that will conclude the meeting.

Mr. YUSUF ALI said he did not know, when he consented to propose the vote of thanks to the Chairman and Lecturer, that he would have the honour of practically opening and closing the discussion. But it gave him great pleasure to speak, because both the Chairman and Lecturer were people with whom he had been associated recently. He had had the honour to be on the same platform as the Chairman in the early days of the War at Walthamstow, when they went to bespeak the sympathy of a labouring audience for an Imperial policy. The Lecturer would remember his meeting the speaker in Simla, and the pleasant conversation they had together about certain aspects of the conditions in the Native States. It therefore gave him great pleasure to commend to the meeting a very hearty vote of thanks both to the Chairman and to the Lecturer.

The Lecturer had dealt with a very intricate subject on which one must speak with a certain amount of reserve and tact. The political relations of the Indian States with the Paramount Power were, happily, of the very best at the present moment, and the splendid assistance which they had given both to the Government of India and to the Imperial Government during the War was well known to all. The appointment

of His Highness the Maharajah of Bikanir to be one of the delegates from India to advise the Secretary of State on the War Council had been received with great pleasure in all quarters. He was a Chief with whom the speaker had the honour of being acquainted, and he knew that he combined in himself both the conservative and the liberal points of view. At the present moment, what India wanted was a complete combination of both points of view, because either one without the other would mean loss of balance; and what India and the Empire required peculiarly at the present moment was complete balance in discussing the great questions to be decided.

The Lecturer had discussed the question of the education of the Chiefs. The speaker regretted to say that he did not entirely agree with him. Such an important question as the education of a Chief, especially after he had reached the end of his minority, was mainly a matter of internal administration. As long as the Chief was a minor there was, not only the right, but also the duty to see that he got the best education and to provide him with all the means for the furtherance of that end; but it seemed to the speaker that, if there was any interference with the question of his further training after the attainment of his majority, or if any elaborate or detailed rules were to be laid down as to the methods to be followed for his training, it might not be exactly agreeable to the party chiefly concerned. In those matters the main thing was to appeal to the wishes and the imagination of the Chiefs themselves. They would, with proper opportunities, prove themselves in the future, as they had proved themselves in the present crisis, to be true pillars of the State. So long as they were able to take a liberal as well as a conservative view, and to reconcile and harmonize those views, they might be relied upon for the Imperial cause: they would always turn up trumps; but any attempt to lay down a particular line of training would be fraught with a certain amount of danger.

Another point the speaker would like to refer to. He wished the Lecturer had said a little about the economic position in the Indian States. At present economics seemed to be all the fashion, not only in India, but in the Empire generally. In fact, judging from the pronouncements of certain people, one would think that the Empire was based upon nothing better than the question of pounds, shillings and pence, with which he could not agree. At the same time he thought that pounds, shillings and pence were not matters to be neglected. In many of the states, and notably in the state with which the Lecturer had been concerned, economic questions played a very important part. To say nothing about Patiala, Gwalior had a beautifully equipped factory, and the practical training which people received there would no doubt form one of the subjects on which the Holland Commission will have something to say after the War. If one could learn how the question of industrial education and workshops and economic education had been tackled in the states, it would throw a very important light upon the questions that present themselves on a much larger scale in British India. But, more than that, the economic relations of the states with British

India had been one of the constant sources of friction in one direction, and also one of the cementing forces in the relations between the two parties. It ought to be the endeavour of all responsible people to see that the economic relations were further strengthened along with the political relations; in fact, in the speaker's view, the two went together. If it were made worth while for the people to cultivate the arts and commerce, prosperity would smile over the land, and even that happiness which the Chairman did not consider as necessarily co-extensive with efficiency was bound to come. He thought that this part of the question had not been sufficiently studied, and he had hoped that the Lecturer, with his intimate knowledge of the Cis Sutlej states, might be able to say something about it.

He had much pleasure in commending to the meeting a very hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer for his valuable paper and to the Chairman, who had a very large experience of these states, for taking the trouble to come and preside on this occasion.

Mr. Abbas Ali Beg said he did not know whether it was quite in order that one of the audience who came to listen should be called upon to speak on such a delicate subject. He wished, however, most cordially to second the vote of thanks to the Chairman and to the Lecturer. The Lecturer had dealt with a subject of absorbing interest. The Native States were the most picturesque and the most fascinating part of India, and the subject presented many complicated features; but he was not going to trouble the meeting with any criticisms on many of the points touched upon in the paper, which were more or less controversial. The diversity of social and economical conditions in the Native States captivated the imagination of all observers; but, whatever those diversities might be, there was one thing which was quite uniform, and that was that the relations of the Indian Princes with the Paramount Power, whatever may have been the case in the past to which the Lecturer had referred, were now perfectly cordial. The Chiefs were profoundly loyal to the Crown of Great Britain. The present War had given fresh and striking evidence of this feeling, which he (the speaker) believed was quite unsurpassed throughout the length and breadth of the vast British Empire. He thought the Lecturer had drawn a somewhat one-sided picture of the relations of the Indian Princes with the Paramount Power. It was not the speaker's purpose to spoil the beauty of that picture by picking any holes in it, but there was such a thing as the Chiefs' point of view. These relations were not, although they were very cordial now, always of the nature of milk and honey so far as individual political agents were concerned. Sometimes they assumed the form of very pungent pepper and mustard, and whether any serious gastric trouble was caused or not was known to the patient and to the physician. He would not enter into all those details. When Mr. Yusuf Ali referred to certain economic questions, the speaker supposed he alluded to their bearing upon the relations of the Paramount Power with the Indian Chiefs. Those economic relations sometimes raised difficult questions, and, to enable some of those present to realize the difficulties which arose and of which some of the Chiefs

complained, he would like to give two concrete instances. The relations of the Chiefs were based on certain treaties, and some of the clauses of those covenants, if they were closely examined in a court of law, might perhaps be considered void, because they were, to some extent at least, without adequate consideration. In saying this, he was only expressing his private views as an ex-Dewan of two Native States, and not speaking as an official. To take one instance, that of the salt revenue of an Indian maritime state: a treaty would be entered into, and the Chief would be bound hand and foot not to utilize the natural resources of his state for export at all. What he had to do was to arrange for the consumption of salt in his own territory or within a restricted area. No doubt his friend Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree would be able to corroborate him that in some places on the Kathiawar coast you could see large dunes of salt, which required hardly any labour or expense for production, and yet the Indian Chief was debarred from exporting an ounce of it, say, to Africa or any other part of the world; whereas Austria, or any other foreign country, could export its salt to the same places. The Indian Chief, even if he consented to pay in full the duty on salt, was debarred from making a profitable use of what belonged to him. With regard to this, the question of the fiscal relations of the Paramount Power and the Indian Chief arose, and, no doubt, the treaty was based on a desire to safeguard British revenues; but when there was no actual conflict of fiscal interests why should not the salt be exported?

Another matter the speaker would like to mention was the arrangements about coinage. The other day he met a friend who had administered an important Native State during the minority of the Chief, and who told him he had introduced a very great reform. When asked what it was, the reply was that he had swept away the coinage of the Native State by a stroke of the pen and substituted for it the glittering British rupee. The speaker had asked if the state benefited by this arrangement, and the reply was that it was very convenient. Undoubtedly it was very convenient from one point of view, but what did it amount to? Supposing you had an Indian rupee of the intrinsic value of 11 or 12 annas: for every rupee which was lost by anybody in that state, for every new rupee which was coined in a British mint, 4 annas went into the British Treasury, and the Native State got nothing by way of seignorage or compensation, and lost its right to coin its own money for ever by an act done during the minority of the Chief. Those were two instances which occurred to the speaker at the moment. In regard to many such complicated matters, there was immense scope for improving the relations between the Paramount Power and the Indian Chiefs. No doubt all present were aware that the political atmosphere, so far as intervention or non-intervention was concerned to which the Lecturer had referred, had been cleared after the pronouncement of Lord Minto at Udaipur. If the same policy of sympathetic consideration of all questions relating to Indian States was continued, and if Political Officers of tact and generous feelings looked into many things which the Indian Princes hesitated to bring forward, and advised the Provincial Governments and the Govern-

ment of India in a magnanimous spirit, the speaker felt sure that the loyalty of the Ruling Princes who were the girders on which the fabric of the Empire rested would be further deepened, and their states would constitute a great source of strength to the Empire.

In conclusion, the speaker desired most cordially to second the vote of thanks to the Chairman and to the Lecturer.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am not going to encroach any further upon your time, though I should have very much liked an opportunity of discussing the matters which Mr. Yusuf Ali and Mr. Abbas Ali Beg have opened out. I am not quite sure what Mr. Biddulph intended, but the idea I formed on reading his Lecture, with regard to Indian Chiefs being entrusted with their administration, was not as to whether they should go on as pupils till eighteen years of age, and then be instructed further, but that the official majority of an Indian Chief should not begin when he was eighteen years of age. In no country in the world would you entrust a boy of eighteen with the enormous responsibility which every Indian Chief has to assume. I was a member of a commission which sat in Calcutta upon this matter some time ago, and I understood the decision then was to extend the period of minority to twenty-one years. Since then the Government of India, if the age is eighteen now, have gone back on what I consider a retrograde path.

With regard to the remarks about salt, I think they are interesting. Mr. Ali Beg's experience apparently is that some treaty was executed without any consideration, and that the Native Chief got practically nothing. I can assure him that I know of at least one treaty in which the Chief made a very good thing out of the British Government in the salt agreements. I have not the papers here, but I could refer him to the pages in Aitchison's "Treaties."

Mr. ABBAS ALI BEG: Can he send his salt outside the territory?

The CHAIRMAN: He does not want to; he has sold it all.

Mr. ABBAS ALI BEG: He gets a fixed sum for surrendering his rights?

The CHAIRMAN: And a very handsome sum too.

Mr. ABBAS ALI BEG: It is a very handsome sum for the time being, but the population increases and the consumption of salt expands, and all that is never taken into account.

The CHAIRMAN: That opens up a very wide question.

It has been a great pleasure to me to come here this evening, and I am sure we have listened to Mr. Biddulph's lecture with pleasure and, I hope, some profit.

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE said that, as there had been a departure from the usual rules of the Association and consequently no discussion, he hoped it would not be assumed that, because those present did not speak, they had not any views to advance with regard to the subject of the lecture. He thought the conditions under which the paper had been read should be explicitly mentioned, and Mr. Pennington pointed out further that it was open to anyone present to express his views in writing.

The HON. SECRETARY explained the Chairman had called only upon

the two gentlemen who had spoken on the lecture owing to the time occupied by the delivery of the paper and with the exhibition of the pictures.

Mr. BIDDULPH said : I think that the two gentlemen who have addressed the meeting have raised questions which do not bear on the matter of my paper except in one particular, to which I will refer later on. The object, with this exception, which I had in view was to afford information, and not to invite discussion.

I have stated certain historical facts, and have described in general terms treaties bearing on the relations between the Government of India and its subordinate Allies, as to all of which there would appear to be no ground for discussion. The one point which invites an expression of opinion is my suggestion regarding the training of minor Chiefs. It was suggested that there might be a danger of inconvenient internal interference if my views were adopted. But if the Government assumes the responsibility for the proper education of its wards, then my argument is that it should fulfil its obligations and not stop short because a minor Chief happens to reach a certain age. I suppose there is no hard-and-fast law which cannot be modified preventing the Government from postponing investment with full powers, or generally extending the period of minority beyond the age of eighteen. Anyhow, my argument is that, in addition to a general education, it is absolutely necessary that a young Chief should undergo a definite course of administrative training, and if this can be accomplished by the time he is eighteen (which I very much doubt), well and good; if not, then the limit of minority should be generally raised sufficiently to afford reasonable time for such indispensable education.

THE LAUREATE OF THE EAST:
RECENT WORKS BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE*

By Lady Katharine Stuart

A leading philosophical critic in the New York *Nation*, Mr. Paul Elmer More, has recently condemned the works of Rabindranath Tagore as being "neo-romanticism," "saccharine mysticism," and a travesty of ancient truth. This fiat having gone forth, countrymen of the poet will receive from the same source without much surprise the informatiom that the works of the great Bengali are held to be actually a "sly betrayal" of the spirit of the ancient Hindu Scriptures. Modesty, we imagine, had hitherto led most people to believe that if any man alive could be considered an authority upon the letter and the spirit of the Vedas, that man could surely be no other than the gifted son of the revered Maha Rishi—Debendra Nath Tagore, himself the contemporary and associate of Keshub Chunder Sen, Rama Krishna Paramahamsa, Vivekananda and other Oriental seers and sages, some of whom were acknowledged to be in the last generation, as Rabindra Nath is in the present one, not only Sanscrit scholars and philosophers of distinction, but also living exemplifications in modern times of the spirit of the ancient wisdom.

* "Stray Birds," 4s. 6d. net; "Hungry Stones, and other Stories," 5s. net; "Fruit Gatherings," 4s. 6d. net. All published by Macmillan and Co.

Modesty, however, appears to have led most people astray. It has apparently been reserved to Mr. Paul Elmer More to discover and to interpret for us the true meaning of the ancient Hindu Scriptures, and this without the aid of an ancestry saturated in spiritual culture, or of incessant meditation and lifelong practice hitherto deemed indispensable to those really desiring to assimilate the true spirit of that ancient revelation. Bengali opinion will probably receive with polite scepticism the assertion of *Current Opinion* that Mr. More is "intimately acquainted" with the Vedas as a whole, and still retains these views; but while emphatically protesting against this criticism, we can understand that the teachings of Tagore may appear to differ in tendency from passages in the Vedanta and the Bhagavad Gita, which Mr. More cites on behalf of his theory that the poet's writings are not real truth, but counterfeit coin. As humble worshippers at the shrine of the Gita we cannot help feeling that the distinction between the two teachings is that, so far from being a *betrayal* of the old, the new teaching comes as a *sequel* to it, and as the development of a progressive revelation, a gospel of love to amplify and to fulfil the preceding law and prophets. Do we in advancing this suggestion overestimate the master-poet of Bengal? We believe not, and for this reason:

The Bhagavad Gita is accounted by many the greatest philosophical poem in existence. If we examine it closely we soon discover the reason of this. The Gita is a casket containing the most wonderful thing in the world. It is not, therefore, on account of its structural beauty, great as that is, that it is a life companion to many millions; it is because it contains within its modest compass the *supreme secret*, the goal of all existence, which is in Oriental language *Yoga*, and in Western phraseology the "Unitive life." Not the casket but the jewel it enshrines has made of this fragment of Sanscrit a peerless piece of literature.

Now the Gita insists upon *renunciation* as the path to Yoga. We can understand, therefore, the puzzled critic

demanding to know how it is that Tagore has come to us—metaphorically speaking—" eating and drinking "—that is to say, not rejecting but accepting *the whole* of life. The world at large, however, does not see in this a sign of weakness, but rather a source of power; as a Bengali once expressed it: " Tagore is the only one of our saints who has not refused to *live*, but has spoken to us out of life itself."

Yes, " *out of life itself*"; for to him life is not a longing for liberation, life is not to be evaded and despised; she is all beauty to the man that loves her and embraces her with all his being. Thus it is that " Raby Babu " is no mere poet for poets, or poet for critics; he is a *poet for the people.* The lovers love him and the housewife and the schoolgirl. He can be the play-fellow of little children and yet impart wisdom unto the wise; for, like the lark, he sings at Heaven's gate without losing a particle of his interest in the affairs of nestlings. To him the objective universe is no snare, it is holy ground; Nature is no temptress, but a sublime instructress. Sunset can enrapture him into " Samadhi " (contemplation). The God of the Jungle speaks to him as to Moses " out of the midst of the bush," but also in the merry prattle of a babe and in the murmur of mighty cities.

Not only for his seraph wings, but for his tender human hands and the big tender heart he carries in his bosom, do we find Rabindranath beloved of his countrymen. He is philosopher, poet, scholar, schoolmaster and practical social reformer, but he is more than all of these. He is not only the pride of Bengal, he is a prophet to the world because he can respond to the demand that humanity makes of spiritual genius. *He can illuminate the whole of life.* Said Walt Whitman: " I and mine do not convince by arguments; we convince by our presence." It is not by what he knows or what he says or what he writes, but by what he *is*, that Rabindranath makes disciples of all nations. The greatness of the Bhagavad Gita is that it depicts Yoga; the greatness of Tagore is that he illustrates before our eyes the unitive life.

Mysticism, being universal, has the vocabulary of its experience in every language; but the ideas peculiar to India which constitute the fabric of the stories entitled "Hungry Stones" are not easily presented to Western minds ignorant for the most part of Indian religious and social usage. In "Victory" we find, however, many happy touches from Tagore's suggestive pen. It tells of a poet vanquished by the glib verbosity of a rival, and shows us that he has not lived entirely in vain, for upon his death-bed it transpires that, even at the very last, that epoch-making thing in the lonely life of the seer or poet has actually occurred—*somebody has understood!* Everyday tragedy, and yet we feel its poignancy afresh when "A spray of spring flowers" enters the death-chamber with "recognition" as the world's farewell to his parting soul, and we recall the death of Keats and his vindication by Shelley. Whenever deep calls to deep in human existence; when Plato interprets Socrates; when Emerson greets Walt Whitman; when Browning finds a soul-fellow; when Ruskin rescues Turner; the Meynells discover Thompson, or Zola defends Dreyfus, we all hold our breath in wonder and interest before that most thrilling of all dramas—real life.

There are quaint touches of mother-wit and wisdom in the "Devotee," who demands to know why the author is abused.

"I said: 'Because I deserved it. I suppose in my greed I was loitering about to steal people's hearts in secret.'"

The Devotee said: "Now you see for yourself how little their hearts are worth; they are full of poison, and this will cure you of your greed."

The heroine of "Vision" throws light upon certain types of Oriental feminine psychology. She appears incapable of regarding even such dire and personal calamity as total blindness from any point of view but that of how it will affect her husband. She allows him to ruin her eyesight, refusing, and indeed resenting, aid from any other source. A tragic situation develops when the husband proposes to

take another wife, but how the story ends we leave readers to find out for themselves, being side-tracked ourselves into wondering how far the author would agree with the conclusion the story forces upon the Western mind. With due reverence to the extraordinary capacity for self-sacrifice evinced by India's women, whose ideal has ever been to bestow tenderness rather than to obtain justice, we seriously question, as we believe the writer means us to question, how far utter self-abandonment to human caprice is the highest goal of which womanhood is capable, and how far it benefits the nation at large. Spartan training for the wife—but how about the husband? Unselfish people create egotists, and have they the right to do this? Is it lawful to steal away the duties and self-denials of another? Is this not rather to play the traitor to their best interests?

A little less self-sacrifice, a little more common sense, would have made the difference between happiness and misery, for had the heroine saved her own eyesight, she would have saved her brother from distress and her husband from lifelong remorse; for she would have *saved him from himself*. Paradoxical as it may sound, we fear this wife did not love her husband enough. Her love was not strong enough to hurt, as divine love can and does, sooner than allow us to injure ourselves. We await with hope the day when this dynamic power of self-sacrifice will not stop short at one individual, but will leaven the life of India as a nation, and man and woman together, but not living *only for one another*, but also *for the nation and the world*, will uplift the whole human race.

In "Fruitgathering," from the same pen, we read of Govinda, the great Sikh teacher, who lightly sacrificed two diamond bangles in order to impress on a disciple the truth that the claims of God and Mammon are irreconcilable. We need Govindas sadly in this nation of shop-keepers to bid us beware lest our commercial instincts get the better of our sense of justice and our public spirit. Many will appreciate the beauty of this fragment:

" The pain was great while the strings were being tuned. My master, begin your music; let me forget the pain; let me feel in beauty what you had in your mind through those pitiless days."

From " Stray Birds " we take the following:

" He who wants to do good knocks at the gate; he who loves finds the gate open "; and again:

" Those who have everything but Thee, my God, laugh at those who have nothing but Thyself."

In conclusion, we ask reader and lovers of the Gita familiar with such passages as

" He who seeth Me everywhere and seeth everything in Me, of him will I never lose hold, and he shall never lose hold of Me," if the following quatrain, translated from Bengali by one of the poet's countrywomen, Mrs. Sen, does not give us the very quintessence of the song celestial ?

" Who can deprive me to-day
Of anything in the world
When I have Thee, Beloved,
In my heart of hearts ?"

Thus in a single exquisite verse Tagore can summarize the spirit of the Gita.

While, therefore, agreeing that by ancient wisdom the unitive life in its three stages of purification, illumination and union with the Supreme, was made *plain*, we cannot find it in our hearts to quarrel with the master-poet of Bengal because he has made it *beautiful*.

It is related of Vivekananda that once a Muhammadan came to him and said:

" Master, if at any future time any claim thee as an avatara, remember that I, a Muhammadan, was the first."

Tagore, as his countrywoman beautifully puts it, has " given himself away to the world," and a unique opportunity thus presents itself to the public at large. It is called upon to recognize or to reject one who not only lives the Vedas, but exhibits, as few Christians exhibit, the *spirit* of Christ.

"Thou at least shalt nevermore disturb my prayers," exclaimed the enraged priest, as he slew the singing bird that sought to accompany his morning orisons with a natural outburst of pure melody; but from the dead body of the bird uprose a Vision, and a Voice demanded: "Philemon, why hast thou slain *my messenger?*"

"I slain *thy messenger?* I have slain nothing but a *bird!*"

"*He* was my messenger, to teach you love."

Hebrew Scripture tells us how there was, "after the thunder an earthquake, and after the earthquake a fire, and after the fire a still, small voice."

When the convulsion and conflagration that now reigns in Europe shall have exhausted itself, and the roar of artillery and the echoes of the hymn of hate have died away, may Heaven send her son of consolation, Rabindranath Tagore, to heal the wounds, to wipe away the tears and sing away the sorrows, of what once was "merrie England"!

(N.B.—Note on Samadhi: This condition of consciousness has been defined as "religious abstraction"; it may also be compared to contemplation, as understood by Roman Catholics, and to the receptive attitude, or waiting upon God, practised by the Society of Friends.

It may rather be compared to the condition of catalepsy, in which all bodily functions, and even animation, appear to be suspended for weeks or even months; nevertheless, the individual is not dead, but, as it were, entranced.)

MILITARY NOTES

By Lieutenant-General F. H. Tyrrell

The Military Correspondent of *The Times* has made some remarkable statements in an article entitled "Officers' Grievances." He complained of the hard lot of the Indian army officer employed in the war as contrasted with that of his comrade of the British Army. The latter, if disabled by wounds or sickness, receives full-pay for two years from the date of his disablement, while the Indian army officer is placed on "furlough sick-pay" after three months under similar circumstances. The Military Correspondent is apparently unaware that the furlough sick-pay of the Indian officer amounts to a considerably larger sum than the full-pay of his British comrade. Again, he finds fault with the Government of India for not granting increased pay as well as increased rank to their officers serving with the New Armies and with the Expeditionary Force in France. In the Indian Army promotion goes by length of service, a captain becoming a major after eighteen years' service, and a lieutenant a captain after nine years' service. As the rate of promotion in the British Army has been greatly accelerated by the war, the Indian officers serving in Europe were placed at a disadvantage in respect of seniority, and the Indian Government therefore granted them the temporary rank of captain after six years', and of major after fifteen years', service respectively. The Military Correspondent of *The*

Times thinks that increased pay should be granted as well as increased rank; but an Indian Captain already draws a higher rate of pay than a British Field Officer, so there is not the same reason for the increase of pay, and brevet rank in the British Army carries with it no increase of pay. The curious thing is that *The Times* in a leading article quotes with approval its correspondent's strictures on the "proverbial stinginess of the Indian Government," and the "rank injustice" with which it treats its officers—a most ludicrous travesty of the real state of the case. There is no Government in the world that treats its officers more generously and liberally in the matter of pay, pensions, and leave than the Government of India; and if *The Times* correspondent had written of the proverbial liberality of the Indian Government, he would have been nearer to the mark.

A year or two after the Franco-German War of 1870 there was published in England a book entitled "Der Ruhm," which the author apparently imagined to be the German synonym for the French "La Gloire." The book and its author are now forgotten; but it contained a remarkable and strangely prophetic forecast of the present war. The story is supposed to be related by an old veteran of the Franco-Prussian War to his grandson, and discloses how the German nation, intoxicated by success, aspired to the overlordship of Europe, and how a coalition of several Powers was formed to avert such a catastrophe; how Germany was invaded by France from the west and by Russia from the east, and how a British Expeditionary Force was landed at the mouth of the Elbe, and took part in the complete overthrow of the military power of Germany. "Ah, my boy," says the old captain in conclusion, "you never hear anybody talking about 'Der Ruhm' now."

In the reviews of it published at the time the book was generally condemned as wildly improbable. In those days the pacific intentions of the German Government and the friendly sentiments of the German people were generally believed in by the British public. Probably a copy of

"Der Ruhm" might be found on the shelves of the British Museum; it would be worth while reprinting it at the present time.

The capture by a British army of the city of Baghdad, the home of the legends of the "Thousand and One Nights" and the political and social centre of the world of Islam for five centuries, will greatly enhance the prestige of Britain, and will correspondingly discourage the Turks and their supporters throughout the East. This famous city, in which Haroun ar Rashid received the ambassadors of Charlemagne, ceased to be the seat of the Caliphate from the time when it was sacked and partially destroyed by Hulaku Khan and his Mongol hordes in the thirteenth century of our era, and Cairo became for a time the metropolis of the Muhammadan world in its stead.

Baghdad remained under successive Persian dynasties until it was besieged and taken by an Ottoman army in the reign of Suliman the Magnificent. Ever since it has, with some temporary vicissitudes of Persian occupation, remained under Turkish rule. Nadir Shah besieged it in vain; the Persian historians relate how, when he was marching against the Turks, he took a "fál," or omen, from the Diwan of Hafiz, and how the volume opened at the page which contained the following lines:

> "Irak and Fars, O Hafiz, with thy verse thou hast made glad;
> Come, 'tis now the time for Tabriz and the hour for Baghdad!"

But Baghdad was so stoutly defended by Ahmad Pasha that Nadir gave up all hope of capturing the city, and to save his face entered into a composition with the Pasha, which might be construed into an admission that the Shah's demands had been satisfied.

The Pasha of Baghdad in Asia ranked as one of the three premier Pashas of the Ottoman Empire; the other two were the Pasha of Buda in Europe and the Pasha of Cairo in Africa.

These all had the title of Vazir, and each of them took

precedence of the other two in his own continent. When the Tânzîmat, a European system of civil and military administration, was established in the Turkish Empire, Da'ud Pasha of Baghdad refused to accept it, and a military expedition had to be organized to coerce him; but at its approach he capitulated without fighting.

Both Mecca and Baghdad, the two great centres of the Arab religion and civilization, have now been severed from the Turkish Empire as the result of the present war. The latter is already in our hands, and the former will indubitably have to rely upon our protection to secure it against Turkish reprisals.

The Turk is a good fighter—fighting indeed is the only game he is good at—but he is a bad loser. When he finds himself losing he loses heart, and loses all interest in the game. It is well within the memory of the present generation how stubbornly Osman Pasha defended Plevna, and how gallantly the Turks fought on with fierce delay to stem the overwhelming tide of Russian invasion. But when Plevna had once fallen, all hope seemed to have gone out of them, and the Russian march to Constantinople was almost unopposed; even Adrianople was left undefended. Only the appearance of the British Fleet in the Dardanelles and the manifest determination of Lord Beaconsfield's Cabinet prevented the fall of the Imperial city and of the Turkish supremacy; but our timely assistance has been repaid by the blackest ingratitude. The Turk is always at his best at the beginning of a war or of a campaign, but he has little staying power, and we may fully expect, if the war lasts much longer, to see the débâcle of the defenders of Baghdad repeated on other fields of battle. In old times, before the Turkish army had been welded into a disciplined machine by the adoption of European methods, a defeat always meant a wild panic, ending in a general rout.

It was the fame of Prince Eugene's victories over the Turks in Hungary, with which all Europe was ringing at the time, that inspired the lines of Pope:

> "So when in flight a routed army runs
> Of Asia's troops and Afric's sable sons,
> With like confusion different nations fly
> Of various habit and of various dye."

And in spite of a more rigid discipline and improved tactical training, the national character of the Turkish soldier remains the same, and, as Von Moltke said of him, he passes from reckless courage to abject faint-heartedness, finding no standing-point between the two extremes.

The Grand Sharîf of Mecca has assumed a regal title, which is variously given in our Press as King of the Arabs or King of the Hejjaz, but we have not yet been made acquainted with the Arabic form of it. It is probably Malik, the most common designation for a monarch, though the title has lost some of its majesty by having been adopted to designate the chief of a tribe in Afghanistan. Our Indian Mussulman fellow-subjects call their Emperor most usually the Mâlik-i-Mu'âzim, or Great King, ignoring the foreign title of Kaisar. The Arabs themselves have never yet owned allegiance to any king; their supreme ruler was the Khalifa, or Deputy of the Prophet, the earthly executive of the heavenly Theocracy. The titles of Padishah, Sultan, and Khedive were all of Persian and Turkish origin.

The new King of the Arabs will certainly be unable to maintain his State against the Turks without the aid and support of Great Britain, which we trust may be ungrudgingly afforded to him. "One Turk values himself as a match for twenty Arabs," writes Dr. Shaw, who had a long experience of both Turks and Arabs in Algiers. The Arab —at least, the true Arab of the desert, who makes his desert wherever he goes—is a born warrior, but he makes a bad regular soldier. The Arabistani regiments of the Turkish Nizam, recruited from the Arabic and Syriac speaking population of the Empire, are looked upon as inferior material to the rest of the army. The French Turco regiments in Algeria contain but few pure Arabs, being mostly recruited from Moors and Berbers, or Kabyles, as they are

there called. The Nizam of Hyderabad has, or recently had, some thousands of Arab irregulars in his pay, and some thirty years ago an attempt was made to form a regular regiment from among them, which did not seem to promise much success, but I am unaware of the final result of the experiment. An Arab battalion now forms part of the Egyptian Army, and is stationed at Kassala; and it would be interesting to learn how it compares in efficiency with the Egyptian and the Sudanese battalions of the same Army.

Irregular troops are sometimes a very valuable adjunct to a regular army, and we have felt the want of them in our campaign in Mesopotamia. We once had the finest Irregular Cavalry in the world in our Indian Army, but irregularity is hateful to the soul of the regular officer, and our Indian Irregulars, like the Russian Cossacks, have long ago been converted into imitation European Dragoons.

The foolish jealousy which too often leads the Great Powers to try to thwart and hinder each other's policy has been lately once more exemplified in the case of the Persian Gendarmerie. Russia would not hear of British officers being employed to train and command it, and Great Britain therefore felt bound to make the same objections to the employment of Russian officers. So Swedes were charged with the task of forming and training the new force. Either Russians or Englishmen would, no doubt, have made a good job of it; as for the Swedes, they were utterly ignorant of Oriental peoples, of their manners, customs, and languages; and moreover they allowed themselves to be tampered with by a third Power. A similar fiasco occurred a few years ago in Albania, where, owing to the mutual jealousy of the Powers, Dutch officers were entrusted with the task of organizing a body of Gendarmerie for Albania. Officers from the flattest country in Europe were selected to supervise the military training of the inhabitants of a land of rugged mountains! Both Swedes and Dutch have had to make themselves scarce, and it has now been wisely decided to send English officers from the Indian Army to organize

the Persian Gendarmerie anew. Probably the moiety of the Force for the North of Persia will be controlled by Russian officers. There is thus some reason to hope that peace and security of life and property may soon be restored to that distracted country.

The value of the modern Persian as a soldier has yet to be proved. The Persians have achieved no success in war since the death of Nadir Shah, nearly two centuries ago. The attempts at forming a standing army have been no more successful in Persia than they have in China, and from the same reason, viz., the utter lack of honesty and efficiency in all branches of the administration of the State. Yet the Persians were the first of all Oriental nations to make the experiment of raising regular troops on the European model. It took the stupid Turks a century and more of sound beatings at the hands of the Austrians and Russians to convince them that there was any fault to be found with their military system; but on their first encounter with the Russians the quick-witted Persians recognized the superiority of the tactics and the armament of their enemy, and attempted to imitate them. Prince Abbas Mirza, the son of Fath Ali Shah, raised a corps of soldiers disciplined and armed after the European manner, to whom he gave the name of Sarbáz (players with heads), and this term has ever since been used in the Persian language to designate a regular soldier.

After the Treaty of Tilsit, which converted Russia from the friend of England into her enemy, the Honourable East India Company sent a deputation of British officers to train the new levies in Persia, and some of these officers were killed in battle with the Russians. But when in 1812 the Czar Alexander broke with Napoleon and became once more the ally of Great Britain, our officers were recalled from Persia, and the Sarbáz army was abandoned to native mismanagement.

Prince Muhammad Ali Mirza, brother of Abbas Mirza and Governor of Kirmanshah, also raised a body of regular troops, to whom he gave the name of Jánbáz (players with,

or stakers of, life); and to train them he employed a party of ex-officers of *La Grande Armée*, who, after the fall of Napoleon, had left France to seek a new career as soldiers of fortune in the East. Most of these *beaux sabreurs* took service with Muhammad Ali Pasha in Egypt, but a few found their way as far as Kirmanshah, where they were warmly welcomed by the Prince-Governor, who openly declared his intention of fighting his elder brother for the uccession to the throne upon the death of their fathers. But it fell out that both these warlike Princes predeceased their royal father, and Persia was thus saved from the horrors of civil war.

After the death of Muhammad Ali Mirza, the Jánbáz army fell to pieces, and its European officers, the Frenchmen Allard and Court, the Italians Ventura and Avitabile, went on into India, where they organized for the Maharajah Ranjit Singh the formidable Khalsa army with which he drove the furious Afghans from Peshawar.

Deprived of their European leaders, the Sarbáz and Jánbáz degenerated into a rabble, and though the Persian Army has been reorganized more than once by commissions of Swiss and Austrian officers, it has always again subsided into a state of hopeless disorganization upon their withdrawal. Nasrud Din Shah applied to the British Governor for the loan of Anglo-Indian officers to train his army, but the question of their remuneration could not be settled satisfactorily, and the scheme fell through. The Shah then engaged a body of Austrian officers for the purpose, but their efforts were not crowned with success, probably from the same reason—lack of funds. A standing army presupposes a sound financial administration, which does not exist in Persia. In the campaign of 1838 against Herat, and in the Anglo-Persian War of 1856, the Persian Army did not show to advantage, and it has now apparently ceased to exist at all, for we hear nothing of any Persian troops, except the Brigade of Cossacks, which has been organized and trained by Russian officers on the model of their own

Cossack regiments, from which circumstance it derives its name; but its men are Persians, and not Cossacks at all. The old irregular cavalry, which was the chief strength of the Persian Army a century ago, has meanwhile disappeared altogether, neglected and abandoned for the sake of the so-called regular army, that has proved a most inefficient substitute for it. A Russian officer who had served in both the wars against the Persians said that in the first one (1790-1812) their troops were continually harassed by the Persian irregular horse, and they could never reckon on sleeping in peace; their communications were constantly cut, their convoys captured, their patrols ambushed. In the second war (1826-27) the tables were turned; the Persians had no cavalry worth speaking of, and had abandoned their old guerilla tactics altogether. This reminds one of the answer given by Sir Arthur Wellesley to the Government of India when he was asked whether he did not think it advisable that the Mahratta Princes should be prohibited and prevented from forming establishments of regular infantry and artillery; he replied that they should, on the contrary, be encouraged to do so, for their regular battalions and guns would become our prey on the first field of battle, and meanwhile they would have neglected their irregular cavalry, in which their real strength lay, and with which alone they could do us any mischief.

THE EMPEROR BABUR'S OPINION OF INDIA

By H. Beveridge

It is commonly said that Babur disliked India, and that he has written contemptuously of its climate, etc., in his Memoirs. But there is reason to doubt if the statement is correct; apparently it is due to a mistranslation. Leyden and Erskine translated the Memoirs from a Persian version, and not from the original Turkī, though Erskine occasionally made use of the latter. At page 333 of their translation, Babur is made to say: "Hindustan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome," etc. But M. Pavet de Courteille made his translation from the original Chaghatai, or Turkī, and his rendering of the passage in question is very different. His words—Vol. II., 226—are "Quoique l'Hindoustân soit un pays naturellement plein de charme, ses habitants sont dépourvus de grâce." M. de Courteille's translation was made from the text published by Ilminsky at Kazan in Russia, in 1857, and on referring to pp. 376-77 of that edition, I find that the words of the passage are: "Hindustan kīm laṭafat yer wāqa' būlūbtūr, īlī da ḥasn yūq." The question turns a good deal upon whether the word used by Babur is the Persian *kam*, meaning "few," or the Turkī *kīm*, or *kim* (these last two are identical, and are a pronoun and a conjunction). There is no word in the clause exactly corresponding to De Courteille's "although." I am not com-

petent to decide the point, and though it may appear strange that Babur should use three languages in one short sentence —viz., Turkī, Arabic, and Persian—yet this is what he does here, for though most of the words are Turkī or Arabic, we find him in this sentence about Hindustan using the Persian phrase "amid u raft." It would help to decide the question if we found Babur using elsewhere the expression "kam laṭāfat" to signify "few pleasures," but I am at present not aware if he does so or not. But I am inclined to prefer P. de Courteille's translation, both because of his reputation as a scholar and because the use of the compound perfect tense *būlūbtūr* (Shaw's "Grammar," 277), which means "was" or "has been," seems to imply an antithesis between what India naturally was, and what its people has made it. And even granting that the word is *kam* and not *kīm*, the gist of Babur's remarks is that the people are bad rather than that the country is unattractive. At all events, if Babur means here that the country is unattractive, he is inconsistent, for a little later on—p. 333 of Erskine—he says that the climate of India during the rains is delightful, and that while the rains continue on the ground, the air is singularly beautiful, insomuch that nothing can surpass its soft and agreeable temperature. We know, too, that Babur defended India and its climate when it was abused by his friend Khwāja Kilan. He sent him a quatrain in answer to his abuse of India. Babur recurs to this subject in another quatrain, which perhaps was also addressed to Khwāja Kilan, and for the publication of which we are indebted to Dr. Denison Ross. At page 22 of the "Rampur Diwan of Babur," published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1910, we find the quatrain, which says that the Indian cold weather is most delicious (*kūb dilkash*). The truth is that Babur came to India too late in life to appreciate its people, and he was also prejudiced against them by their attempt to poison him; but the elaborate care with which he has described India's fauna and flora shows how deeply interested he was in the country. His son Humayun, in

a note in a manuscript copy of the Memoirs, says his father was incapacitated by heavy drinking from appreciating the sweetness of Indian fruits. But the instance of this result which Humayun gives is not a convincing one. At all events, Babur fully appreciated the mango and the banana of Bengal.

Before the victory over Rana Sanga, Babur forswore the use of wine, but it is doubtful if this did him any good, for he continued, and probably increased, his addiction to opiates, so that he took seven devils into his house instead of one. Charles Fox said once that the best argument for the use of wine was the disagreeable substitutes which men took to who had abandoned drink; and it seems likely that Babur, his son Humayun, and great-grandson Jahangir, were instances of the truth of this remark.

THE AVESTA AND THE VEDA—H(A)OMA AND SOMA

By Professor Mills

Following up my points in the April number of this *Review*, I would here render Ṛig Veda x., 25, and x., 119.

ṚIG VEDA X., 25 (compared with the Hom Yasht)

1.

As luck light up our wit—teach[1] well
Our clever wit and scheming[2] power—
Then in thy friendship,[3] juicy one
(—Apart in your drink-joy,[4] I'll sing)
As cows delight in pasture-field.
(—O Soma, thou art waxing great[4]
[Within my wakened thought].)

2.

Heart-touching ones in all thy homes
Sit by thee praying, Soma-God,
So these my prayers stand spread to thee

[1] *Vātaya* is a word corroborated by the Avesta *vat*.

[2] *Daksham uta kratum*. So I would render *khratu*—often in the Gāthā. So H(a)oma in Avesta is called upon "to stir up the sensibilities" (see Yasna IX., in S.B.E. XXXI.).

[3] Recall "Asha the good friend," in Y. XXXII., 2: "of thee, the juicy."

[4] The refrain is not original to the hymn; but as it has been added, it will be well to retain it in practical reproduction. I vary my supplementary wording.

(—Apart in your drink-joy [I chant]—)
Seeking full riches (from thy grace).
(—O Soma, thou art waxing great
[While here I sing].)

3.

Though holy rules, O Soma, thine
I have made scant in witless fault,
As Father to his Son—forgive[1]
(—Apart in your drink-joy I pray—)
Spare me from every vengeful blow.
(—O Soma, thou art waxing great
[While here for grace I pray].)

4.

Together flow those strophes forth—
As streamlets[2] to the ponds they pour—
Scheme-wit keep in us, searching bread[3]
(—Apart in your drink-joy I ask)
Keep us like goblets[4] (filled with this).
(—O Soma, thou art waxing great
[While here I drink].)

5.

By mighty forces, Soma, thine,
These longing[5] priests have opened wide
The stall with cows and horses stuffed;

[1] In accord with this, recall Yasna I., 20, 21: "If I have offended thee, whether by thought, or word, or deed;"—Yasna XXXIII., 11: "Hear Ye me all and forgive me."

[2] *Sargāsaḥ*, 'streams." One writer seems to prefer "the Herds as if streaming toward the springs to drink."

[3] Lit. "to our living." Recall Y. XXXI., 15: "gain his bread."

[4] *Camasān*. One prominent writer preferred to startle us with a nasalized instrumental, "keep in us 'life' as with a goblet." Did he render *kratum* as "life" here? Perhaps "keep our wit like goblets (filled)"—we seem forced to supply something. See the 70 hymns at the place.

[5] *Nikāmāsaḥ*. "Entreating" priests might be better. The refrain is partly omitted; it is indeed—as said—an interpolation throughout.

They clever through thy forces, thine,
The ever quick and strong.[1]
(—O Soma, thou art waxing great
[In every vital power].)

6.

Our herd thou guardest on each side
And all that moves or stands[2] spread wide.
In order[3] holdest for our life.
(—Apart in your drink-joy [I speak]—)
All being things are in thy gaze.[4]
(—O Soma, thou art waxing great
[In thine omnipotence].)

7.

Be thou our herd-guard ne'er out-tricked,[5]
From every side (where stealth may lurk[6])
Drive off each foe, O Soma king.[7]
(—Apart in your drink-joy I cry—)
May no curse-hurler govern us.[8]
(—O Soma, thou art waxing great
[In our defence].)

8.

Awake, O Soma, wit-keen One,
For gift of vim (to foil this lot),
Best knower of our country's side,[9]
Better than any human scout.

[1] . . . *tava* . . . *gṛitsasya dhīrās tavaso*. . . . See the Hom Yasht.

[2] *Purutrā* belongs to *vishṭhitam*. Does *jagat* mean "the world" here?

[3] *Samākṛiṇoshi*. The idea of "order" undoubtedly inheres in this expression, not merely that of "holding all things together." Notice the same idea in the word "Sanskrit" from the same verb and prefix.

[4] Soma as the Moon.

[5] "Which no man may deceive" (Yasna XLIII., 6).

[6] Recall the Hom Yasht above: "May we get first sight of the wolf." etc.

[7] Recall again the Hom Yasht as cited in previous article.

[8] Recall Yasna XLVIII., 5: . . . *mā nē duš-khshathrā khshēñtā*.

[9] . . . *kshetravittaro manusho*. . . .

(—Apart in your drink-joy [I call]—)
From guile of Druh[1] and anguish save.
(—O Soma, thou art waxing great
[For gift of vim].)

9.

Our best fiend-smiter,[2] yea, thou art,
Soma, the mate to Indra stanch
When him they cry in fighter's grip
(—Apart in your drink-joy [they call]—)
(When fierce in fight they wrench and shout)[3]
Snatching house-mothers as their prize.
(—O Soma, thou art waxing great
[In fighting power].)

10.

This victor drink-joy hath[4] grown strong
To Indra dear (in holy strength)
(—Apart in your drink-joy we cry—)
Kakshivant's[5] wit, the mighty seer's
It hath made great (to holy song).
(—O Soma, thou art waxing great
[As victor's inspiration].)

11.

This brings to Seer free of gift
Riches in herds (in just return);
More than the Seven[6] it hath made whole

[1] Recall again the Hom Yasht as cited in previous article.

[2] "I make my claim on Thee for victory" (Hom Yasht, Y. IX., 17).

[3] Free with added words to point the sense. *Yat sīṃ havante samithe . . . yudhyāmanās tokasātau* . . . lit. "when him they call in battle . . . fighting in seizing the seed" (the family—mother and children). Hardly "to gain him seed."

[4] Is there a question whether *vardhata* is not an improper conj., "let it grow strong." I always feel such a sense in similar Gāthic forms.

[5] K., "the girded one," a distinguished *ṛishi*.

[6] The seven priests especially in office (?); others differ.

(—Apart in your drink-joy [I speak]—)
Hath made the blind[1] and lame to win.
(O Soma, thou art waxing great
[With gifts in all thy works].)

RIG VEDA X., 119 (945)

INDRA DRUNK WITH SOMA

1.

This strophe is put at 5 by Roth:

So (hic[2]);—ah, such is my idea—
Cow and horse now would I win[3]
—Perhaps it's the Soma that I've drunk (hic*).

2.

Like shaking winds—(in roar of might)—
The drink-drops stir me up like wild—
—Yes;—did I have some Soma?

3.

Up stir me quaffs (of cup just drunk)
As racers[4] tear the chariot on.
Yes, have I had some Soma?

[1] Individuals are supposed to be meant here—the Ṛishi *Dīrghatamas* as "the blind," "having prolonged darkness," a Ṛishi (see Ṛ.V. 158, 1, 6, etc.), and one *Parāvṛj*, "a cripple" or "the outcast" (see Ṛ.V. 112, 8, etc.).

[2] *Iti vā iti* appear to me to represent the hiccough; *vā* in either sense. The first (?) bacchanalian joke in history;—yet recall Lot's daughters.

[3] "Getting cow and horse" was equivalent "to making one's fortune by booty." In Avesta, however, it is the question of the typical saint—"how to gain the Cow"; there it is the type of honest wealth (*cp.* Yasna 51, 5).

[4] Recall the Hom Yasht: "Haoma gives to racers who would run a course with span both speed and bottom to their horses."

4.

Up comes to me the thought-made song[1]
As lowing cow to dear bull-calf[2]—
—Yes, I have had some Soma.

5.

As waggon-wright* doth turn the seat*
So the song-thought[1] I bend at will.[3]
Aye—did I have some Soma?

6.

The world's five[4] tribes don't count a rap[5]—
Not as an eyelid's drop[5] to me—
Yes—I have had some Soma.

7.

Not heaven and earth together both
Reach to my other shoulder,[6] not;—
For I have had some Soma.

8.

Heaven in might I overtop
And this great earth as well—'tis fact—
Yes, I have had some Soma.

[1] See *manaḥ* in 1. I think that, while rendering *matiḥ* as "song," we should here retain the tip of the original idea. Recall H(a)oma, who gives "wisdom and knowledge." The song may have come to Indra as to a recipient or as to an inspirer (?).

[2] . . . *putram iva priyam.*

[3] *Hṛidā.* Others "bend it around my heart (?)"; but see the inst. Perhaps meaning that "he inspires the poetry 'with sentiment.'" Or had the art of "turning woodwork" already made an impression? If so, "the bending" of the seat in manufacture might refer to the twisting necessary in bending the line to metrical form.

[4] *Sāyaṇa*—"the five castes."

[5] *Akshipat.* I should not select "a speck of dust in the eye" for the little thought just here. "A mote in the eye" is often too serious an inconvenience. "A mote in the sunbeam" might look more natural; but why omit the "eye"?

[6] *Pakshaḥ* (—*sham*). Or "wing." "They are not equal to the half of me."

9.

I'll set this earth down[1] here and there—
I'll shift it to my pleasure.*
Have I not had some Soma ?

10.

Like fire,[2] [—at once—Aha !]—I'll smite
This earth down here and there.
Have I not drunk some Soma ?

11.

One wing* of mine is in the sky:
I trail the other under.[3]
Have I not had some Soma ?

[1] *Hanta* = " aha !" seems indeed to be accepted here as exclamatory —and I do so; but, none the less, see its outward shape and the following strophe with *jañghanāni* and the same " *iha veha.*" Why not " hitting, I set down this earth here and there "—and then in the next strophe taking up the same idea ? It almost looks as if strophe 10 were added on purpose to explain strophe 9, or *vice versa.*

Is one or the other an interpolation, not impossibly by the original author (*sic*) ? We all interpolate in our own productions. I have, personally, no doubt that the *hanta* or *hantā* (?) (so) has immediate reference to *jañghanāni.*

Why did not the rishi choose some other exclamatory ? or some other verb ? Does not the exclamatory originate from *han* ?—from what else (?).

[2] *Osham* would dialectically equal " what !" " blazes," " hot-quick !"; to " *ush.*"

In all this one is irresistibly reminded of that fine if delicate satire of Lucian where Mars and Mercury discuss with bated breath the exaggerated pretensions of Jupiter: " If I let down a rope—so Jove is supposed to have said—I will draw you up all together with the Earth and Sea as well. And ye all together cannot draw me down." Had he likewise taken too much nectar ? Here Avesta shows no such tit-bit. Veda and Greece surpass it.

[3] *Pakshaḥ* = " wing," poetical for " shoulder." He is extensive in his person. Recall where Haoma " makes the poor man's thoughts as great as when mind reacheth culmination " or " surpasses emptiness." But such exaltation as this in Avesta provokes no smile, like Indra's; on the contrary, it recalls that most touching Bible saying: " Give not wine to kings, but to him that is heavy of heart, that he may forget his trouble."

12.

Great—great* am I—exalted high—
To the cloud-world[1] I reach over.
Yes, I have had some Soma.

13.

Now home[2] I go well-satisfied*
To Gods the offering bearing.[3]
Yes—I have had some Soma.

[1] Why not to " the hub of the Universe "—like the hub of the wheel ? *Nabh*, = the " source of out-gushing " must have referred to " the cloud," only somewhat later.

[2] Roth boldly read *gṛiho* as = *gṛiham-u*. Others change the text to *gṛiham* (Ludwig ?) very properly; still others have regarded *gṛihaḥ* as = " the servant."

[3] *Araṃkṛitaḥ*. Did one good writer regard this as a gen. to an *araṃkṛit* ? Elsewhere Agni is the pronounced " offering-bearer," his flames or beams lifting up the sacrifice whether of " drink " or " calls " to Heaven. This strophe 13 may be a fragment of a hymn to Agni. It is not regarded as being original here; but it seems to be an exceedingly apt later addition.

CORRESPONDENCE

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

INDIAN RAILWAY POLICY

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

BY SIR GUILFORD MOLESWORTH, K.C.I.E.

FOLLOWING on my lecture on Indian Railway Policy, read before the East India Association, on July 17, 1916, a lengthy correspondence on the subject of State and Company management of railways in India has appeared in the Trade Supplements of *The Times* for the months of September, October, November and December, 1916, and January, 1917, in which some allusion has been made to my lecture.

The contributors to that correspondence have been Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Murray Robertson, Colonel Boughey, R.E., C.I.E., Light Railway Commissioner and formerly Manager of an important Indian State Railway, and Sir Bradford Leslie, K.C.I.E., the eminent engineer, who has had large experience as Manager and Chief Engineer of Indian Guaranteed Railway Companies.

Mr. Brown has stated that about nine-tenths of the lines managed by guaranteed Railway Companies—some 19,000 miles in extent—are State property, the capital having been supplied by the State, which has the option of providing further capital. The companies receive a guaranteed interest at a fixed rate, and any surplus profit from excess of revenue over expenditure is divided between the Company and the State. He also says that:

> "Indian opinion, as expressed in the legislature, is avowedly based on the expectation that, with all the railways managed by the State, political influence will have greater effect, with consequent fuller recognition of non-commercial considerations. To quote one of the ablest Indians in a responsible position in the railway world, Mr. S. C. Ghose, 'the demand made by the Indian publicists that the railway rates should be reduced for indigenous industry, even though this may involve loss of money to the railway, and that there should be State management which, for political reasons, will lead to the withdrawal of the spirit of *commercial* management.... The management will be handicappd in working railways because they will always have to consider, not so much the interests of the railway as a paying concern, as the interests of the industries.'"

Mr. Brown further says:

> "The location of the Boards in London is often criticized, as leading to delay in improvements, and involving the control of the systems by men mostly long past the prime of life, and no longer in touch with changing Indian conditions. It is argued that the transfer of the Boards to India would obviate these drawbacks to Company management. There are obvious and serious difficulties in the way of this change . . ., but the retention of the Boards in London should be accompanied by the grant of much greater powers in matters of detail to the agents in India, who correspond to General Managers on English railways. Too often the control exercised by the Directors is excessive and meticulous."

Mr. Murray Robertson, discussing State Railway management, writes:

> "It has in the past meant obstruction, inertia, the lack of enterprise, initiative, and competition, and a truly official disregard of public requirements and convenience. . . . In India the State has refused many times to build a railway which is not profitable, and it has actually prevented the East Indian Railway from lowering rates. . . . The fact is—and it is too obvious for denial—that the period of usefulness for the location of the Indian Railway Company Directors in London has passed; they have no financial powers, and the control of their executives involves loss of time. Their retention here obliges the expenses and objections of dual administration, and has long been of a pensionary nature."

Colonel Boughey writes:

> "Mr. Murray Robertson uses some strong language in condemnation of State management in the past. This, however, is not the opinion of all among those who have been concerned with Indian railway policy more directly than in merely writing about it, or even of all the Chambers of Commerce in India. . . . Though all lines, whether State or Company, must be worked on strictly business lines, it may well be that a Company would hesitate to reduce a rate which might bring a large increase of traffic, requiring a considerable capital expenditure in order to deal with it without increasing, or perhaps while even for a time decreasing, the shareholders' profits. But in India the conditions are unlike those in any other part of the world. The State is the principal landowner, and the largest part of the revenues is directly derived from the land. The State, therefore, in considering the rates on a railway, might well consider a reduction of rate desirable in a case such as that referred to above, when a Company would not. . . . The great interest of the State in the land and in the welfare of the millions who live upon and by it is one of the strongest arguments in favour

of the contention that all the railways which carry much of the produce of the land for great distances, often a thousand miles or more, to the ports of export to Europe, should be in the hands of the State."

Sir Bradford Leslie brought forward statistics to show that, in the case of 8,000 miles of State and Companies' lines, every ton of coal consumed on the Companies' lines carried a far greater number of ton-miles than the State lines; and that for every rupee spent in maintenance of permanent way the Company lines hauled far more ton-miles than the State lines.

In this notice of the correspondence I have omitted all allusions to the subject of provision of capital, which figures largely in the correspondence, as it is irrelevant to the question of State *versus* Company management.

With reference to this correspondence, I may remark that both Messrs. Brown and Murray Robertson admit the disadvantages of a Board of Directors in London, and the need of a change; but the actual objections to Company management are far deeper than those stated.

With regard to Mr. Murray Robertson's sweeping condemnation of State railway management in the past, I may say that I was the consulting engineer to the Government of India for State railways during the whole of the twelve years in which Lord Lawrence's policy of State railway management was in force. I was in close and constant touch with the Government, the policy of which was in a great measure influenced by my advice, until it was reversed by Lord Ripon, acting under the orders of the Home Government. My advice was always that a railway should not be considered as a source of revenue, but as an instrument for the development of the resources of the country by the lowest practicable rates of transport; that the strictest economy, compatible with efficiency both in construction and management, should be observed, and that every effort should be made to prevent the inflation of capital that had proved so disastrous under Company management.

I may quote one of many instances of advice given by me:

"Private enterprise must necessarily look to direct returns, and regard railways purely from a commercial point of view; the policy of a Government, on the other hand, must embrace a far wider range; and it may be sound policy to develop the resources of a district by low fares and freights, and to sacrifice the direct commercial returns of a railway to the indirect returns, which may be very large in comparison; so that a railway of the State, though *commercially* a failure, may indirectly be a complete success. . . . A company will naturally object to the extension of their system by branch lines, the remunerative character of which may be doubtful, and it will not repay the State to make such branches, because the indirect returns

from them as feeders will pass to the owners of the lines they feed; whereas, if the line so fed were in the ownership of the State, the indirect as well as the direct returns together might make the branches remunerative at all events to the State, which would benefit by the development of trade."

Major Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer), the mouthpiece of Lord Ripon, and the pledged advocate of Company management, in reply to my arguments, said: "A refusal to take up any railway project is *prima facie* evidence that the project is not required."

It is difficult to conceive a greater fallacy. Such an argument, if carried to its logical sequence, would have put a stop to the construction of roads in India; for roads have not yielded returns to meet the current expenses of their maintenance, far less have they afforded any return as interest on the money expended. Yet few would venture to argue that roads are not needed.

As Consulting Engineer during the whole period before the State railway policy was abandoned, I am in a position to state most decidedly that Mr. Murray Robertson's sweeping condemnation is absolutely untrue. During that period both the construction and administration of the State railways were carried out with the utmost energy, initiative, economy and efficiency, notwithstanding the immense difficulties inseparable from the formation of a fresh staff and new organization. This is evidenced by the fact that, in twelve months from commencing work in India, nearly a thousand miles of State railway were opened for traffic in different parts of India. The State railway managers enjoyed greater liberty of action than those of a Company, and, after eleven years of experience of State management, the Accountant-General declared that it had been eminently successful, that it was more economical than that of Companies, and that he was convinced that the revenues of the State would have been largely enhanced had the State constructed and worked the railways at the outset. He estimated the annual loss, owing to these lines having not been carried out by State agency, at £1,750,000, in addition to which the premium which would have to be paid for purchasing the guaranteed railways would amount to about £27,000,000.

Far from refusing to build a railway that was not profitable, the State built the Rajputana Railway, although the traffic statistics indicated that the trade would be insufficient to meet even the working expenses, far less to give a dividend. The State also took up the frontier lines, which were certainly not expected to be remunerative.

In fact, it has been the Companies who have refused to take up the unprofitable lines and extensions; and this led to Lord Lawrence's complaint:

"Under the existing policy the State had to take up all the unprofitable lines for itself, and to give all the profitable lines

to private speculators, carefully guarding them, however, at the expense of the State, against any possible loss, whether from their own negligence or not. . . . The history of actual operations of railway companies in India gives illustrations of management as bad and extravagant as anything that the strongest opponent of Government agency could suggest. . . . In no single respect can I see that less efficiency is to be secured under direct Government control than under joint-stock Companies having their Boards in England. . . . My own very decided opinion on this point is that the direct agency of Government would certainly be more economical than that of Railway Companies."

The experience of twelve years of State railway management fully justified this anticipation, until political influence, in the interest of "private enterprise," was brought to bear on the Home Government, and Lord Ripon came out to India pledged to the reversal of Lord Lawrence's policy. The State railway organization was then broken up, and all the best and well trained railway staff were handed over to the Companies. The Public Works officers who had ably organized it were transferred to other duties, the interest of the State waned, the few remaining State-managed State Railways were isolated, unconnected, and unable to influence rates of transport; and, practically, State railway management had become a farce.

So long as the Rajputana Railway remained the property of the State it carried produce at low rates and exercised a wholesome control over the other railways in India, which led to a great reduction of rates. In 1881 I stated that the stimulus that Indian export trade had received since 1872 was wholly due to the State railway policy of low rates; and that the rates for the transport of wheat for long distances were reduced to less than half of what they were in 1873. The rate of transport from Delhi had been reduced by Rs. 5·84, or an equivalent of 11s. 6d. per quarter if the rupee were at par. The State has lost this power of control by making over the management of the railway to a Company.

Colonel Boughey is undoubtedly right in the view that in India, the State being the principal landowner, and deriving greatest part of its revenue from the land, the great interest of the State lies in the welfare of the millions who live upon it and by it, and that this is one of the strongest arguments in favour of the management of railways being in the hands of the State.

Sir Bradford Leslie, in the endeavour to prove the superior efficiency of Company management, has fallen into the common error of basing comparisons on bare results and crude statistics, without an intimate knowledge of all the numerous factors that influence the problem.

Twenty-six years ago I protested against the unfairness of such comparisons as follows:

"One very unfair comparison has frequently been made between guaranteed and State railways, which has led the Home Government to view State railway management with unfavourable eyes. The East Indian Railway, which probably works under conditions more favourable to economy than any other railway in the world, has nearly always been taken as a standard of comparison with State railways. The character of the traffic of the East Indian Railway is exceptionally favourable to full loads in both directions. Its gradients are good; its fuel cheap; its gross earnings per mile of railway six times that of the average of State railways. The comparison is therefore utterly untenable in every way; but if a comparison be made between the Madras Railway (guaranteed) and the Rajputana Railway (State) the inferiority of the State management vanishes. . . Although the guaranteed railway has the advantage in length and age, and although the gross receipts and the traffic carried by a train are practically equal in the two cases, yet the Rajputana Railway is infinitely superior as regards its working expenses and returns on the capital.

"In making this comparison it is not my intention to imply that the management of the guaranteed railway is inferior to that of the State railway. Doubtless there may be conditions connected with the traffic of the guaranteed railway which, if explained, would justify the difference, but the comparison has been made to illustrate the serious mistake that has been so often made of accepting bare results and crude statistics, without an intimate acquaintance with all the conditions by which they have been affected."

And now Sir Bradford Leslie's comparison is based chiefly on the working of the East Indian and other great Indian Trunk lines in the almost level plains of India, where curves are of large radius and gradients slight, factors that largely influence the duty of coal in a favourable manner; but the comparison is untenable when it is considered that on many of the State lines on the Frontier, in the Bolan Pass and other mountain districts, the gradients are excessively heavy and the curves of very sharp radius, tending to increase greatly the cost of working and the duty of coal. Sir Bradford has, moreover, in attempting to discount the great advantages enjoyed by the East Indian Railway, put forward the following statement:

"The East Indian is handicapped by an excess of up, over down, traffic of not less than 200,000,000 ton-miles per annum, involving a corresponding amount of down empty running."

Now at first sight this appears to be an enormous amount, but the magnitude of it vanishes when examined closely. It only amounts to one thirty-sixth of the total ton-mileage. I doubt whether there is another railway in India on which the traffic is so nearly balanced.

"MY IMPRESSIONS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION"

SIR,

Your letter begging me to give you my impressions on the Russian revolution reached me in a quiet corner of Hove, where I have come for a few days from London to escape its telephones, letters, visits, interviews, and other worrying duties in connection with the happenings in Petrograd.

Our revolution has not yet spoken its last word—it has not yet, so to speak, crystallized into a definite form of expression; on the contrary, it has only sketched out the beginnings of the basis of New Russia. On this account I must refrain in my answer from a definite judgment on the arising, passing, and consequences of our revolution, inasmuch as it touches its principal workers, founders of the New Régime.

In the second and third volumes of my work on this war, written from the political, diplomatic and historical points of view, you will read the principal traits of the evolution of the ideas and the life of Europe during the war; these books will be published in Russia at the end of 1917 or the beginning of 1918. I cannot speak of their contents in detail, but can give you a personal impression of a general character and express my regrets beforehand should it not satisfy you.

You ask me whether I was astonished by the suddenness of the *coup d'état* in Russia. Not in the least. Every thoughtful observer of the events of the past three years saw it coming long ago and reckoned with its consequences. The present fight for the rights and liberties of the small nations of Europe must inevitably have had a powerful effect on the destiny of Russia also. The law of gravitation is inexorable! The problems of the present war will not be solved by the reconstruction only of Belgium, Serbia, Poland, Roumania, etc. They will also be felt in Great Britain and her dominions. Does not to-day's opening of the Empire War Conference in London prove this? The finger of fate will certainly not spare either Germany or her allies.

From the first days of this epoch-making war it was clear to me that behind its blood-red veil there shone out for Russia the promise of a brighter future, which can to-day be seen on her political horizon. The present revolution in Russia was a logical, inevitable consequence of a process that has long been maturing.

It is true that, at the beginning of the war, it was feasible that Russia might attain the extreme limits of her political rights without special or violent means. The complete union of all her classes appeared to be cemented by an inextinguishable flame of enthusiasm and to open unlimited possibilities for our political dawn by the workings of natural evolution. Fate deemed otherwise! Short-sighted people refused to be guided, and remained deaf to

the warnings which for many months had been growing clearer and clearer. The letters of my many Russian correspondents prepared me long ago for this outbreak. What astonished me was not its suddenness, but its practically bloodless character. Nearly a year ago, during the visit of the members of the Duma to England, I had the opportunity of appreciating and discussing in detail with principal leaders of the progressive parties all the various political theses of the Russian constitutional programme. From that moment I understood that the hour for the birth of the New Russia had indeed struck. That she was destined to become a constitutional country in the very near future, either by natural evolutionary means or revolutionary measures (the latter less desirable, as they always leave a legacy of bitterness and misunderstanding), admitted of no sort of doubt. Fate had decreed revolution.

History will apportion the responsibility of the authors. But already now we may say that the revolution was neither really anti-dynastic in origin nor the work of anarchists or street mobs in practice. Its basis was the clearly defined political protest against the obnoxious police repression. This protest was logical and well founded. Already in 1916 Russia clearly expressed herself, through lawful channels and ways, on the necessity of a complete change in the inner politics of the country. I speak here of the stipulation of the Duma on November 19 and 22, of the voting of the Council of the Empire of November 26, and also of the unanimous resolution of the Nobles on December 1. They formulated their demands in the following terms: (1) The definite expulsion of all the "dark forces" which interfered with impunity in the affairs of the State; (2) the formation of a new Cabinet, drawn together and united by one definite programme based on the confidence of the people, and therefore able to work hand in hand with their representative legislative institutions.

A more logical, clear, and decisive expression of the Russian people's desire could not be made, especially in view of the fact that the same resolution was passed by the zemstvos and town councils throughout the whole of the Empire.

The events that followed in December, 1916, and January and February of this year are in everyone's mind, so I will not refer to them here. They clearly proved that our Government did not wish to reckon with actual facts, which at so critical a stage in the war gave the impression, rightly or wrongly, that it had German sympathies. The starting-point of the revolution was marked by the riots caused by the food scarcity. But the principal reasons were the ill-advised dissolution of the Duma and of the Council of Empire at the most acute moment for Russia, and the fear of a separate peace with Germany.

Mr. Lloyd George has rightly said "the danger is not yet over." The revolution has not yet ended. One still hears the far-off

rumbling of the menacing thunder, though overhead the sky now looks clear.

The fear of excesses still exists. The immoderate demands of the extreme parties have not yet been sifted, but on the whole the position of affairs seems better. With knowledge and tact the present temporary Government will prevail on the extremists to moderate their claims. This last supposition seems to me all the more probable as the danger of our present military position is clear to all Russians.

It must not be forgotten that for us the war with Germany was from the very start a national, a people's war. Thus in England it was the Government that decided on war and the people who followed—in Russia the Government had to follow the will of the people. In this lies the strength of the position, and it makes me believe that our Socialists and Labour party do realize our present danger as well as the other parties in Russia, and therefore will not wish to disgrace and ruin all by dissension and civil war. They will certainly understand that in the new Era they have not only rights, but also duties to their "mother Russia."

The unsettled state of our Government which the present interregnum implies, of course carries with it the seeds of political danger. But I firmly believe in the wisdom and patriotism of my countrymen, and that Russia will emerge from these trials purified and strengthened—ready to follow the path of light and happiness.

This is all I can at present tell you, dear Sir, in answer to your question as to what my impressions are. Neither can I touch on the other subjects that interest you, such as our Dynasty, our Constitutional Régime and its leaders, nor the Republican aims of part of our workmen and army. These are very complicated questions, and the psychology of the present situation forces me to refrain from analyzing them.

Some people seem to accuse the participators in our revolution of permitting excesses and abuses. I cannot agree with this, and consider such rumours and charges as a kind of *obiter dictum*. One may regret that there have been street riots in general, which might easily have been avoided, but on the whole one can but wonder at the discipline and moderation of our people. Every crowd, no matter what its composition, is animated by a spirit of blind despotism and even of cruelty. The Russian crowd has this time shown that it can be both considerate and level-headed, which in this present case is chiefly due to a total abstinence of three years' standing!

Yours faithfully,

V. Mouravieff Apostol.

Hove,

March 21, 1917.

"INDIANS AT THE UNIVERSITIES"

DEAR SIR,

Might I draw your attention to a word from the President of the University of Michigan welcoming Indian Students to his University—a State institution cosmopolitan in its character, and according special opportunities to young men and women from outside the State. To Students from India especially it extends a hearty welcome, and the President says: "I trust that those who come to us will profit by their residence. By their presence here they contribute not a little to the cosmopolitan life of the Institution. They will doubtless return to India with higher views of life, and their presence amongst us, too, makes broader the vision of those with whom they come into contact. Thereby, then, we should learn the better to appreciate the Hindu people, their marvellous history, and their great opportunity."

I rejoice to recall the fact that Dr. Traill, late Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, welcomed Indian Students in this very spirit to his University of Dublin, and in almost identical terms. I wonder have representatives of other Universities within the United Kingdom done the same. If not, I think they should do so now.

JOHN POLLEN.

OPTIMISM AND PESSIMISM

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

SIR,

Much is being written just now under these heads, with attempts at definition, and even at comparison, between these two extremes. But why such comparison should be considered necessary I do not quite understand. Would it, for example, be regarded as useful to elaborate a fine distinction between good and evil? Is there no middle course—let us say the *mens æqua in arduis?* Apparently not. That view does not satisfy. We are all expected to be at either one pole or the other.

Well, if we are to have definitions, here is one, as regards Optimism, which appeared in print some years ago, and has since been carefully preserved by me. It is this:

> "Optimism is almost the most dangerous fault a policy can have. It substitutes its own aspirations and imaginings for the hard and palpable realities which determine the course of events."

To this definition may I now be allowed to add one other?

> "Optimism is the greatest of all luxuries; it costs the most."

Its cost, in the "hard and palpable realities" of this terrible War—who can estimate?

As to Pessimism, whether it exists, or what exactly it is, I do not know, nor does it disturb me. But this I know—that for officialism to treat the public as a faint-hearted and weak-kneed crowd, whose spirits are to be kept up by concealment of failure and invention or exaggeration of success, would be a libel upon the nation's character such as it is entitled to deeply resent. If it be not known that the more serious the danger the higher does British courage and determination rise, then indeed history has been written in vain.

Hear the Prime Minister in his speech of December 19 last:

> "I believe that a good many of our misunderstandings have arisen from exaggerated views which have been taken about successes, and from a disposition to treat as trifling real set-backs. To do so and to imagine that you can only get the support and the help, and the best help, of a strong people by concealing difficulties is to show a fundamental misconception. The British people possess as sweet a tooth as anybody, and they like pleasant things being put on the table. But that is not the stuff that they have been brought up on. Britain has never shown at its best except when it was confronted with a real danger and understood it. Let us for a moment look at the worst."

Thus might it not be more useful to moderate our transports; to note down the "hard and palpable realities"; to replace Optimism by manliness to admit and have the courage to emphasize the many difficulties we have to overcome; in other words, to substitute Reality for Illusion, and Moral Bravery for Brag?

Yours faithfully,

H. F. B.

March 12, 1917.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

By A. Francis Steuart

Events are moving swiftly in Russia, and those of us by whom that country is known and loved can think of little else than its present and its future. Let us therefore think for a little about the former German influence there, and of its history.

The first real Germanising of Russia took place in the reign of the Empress Anne Ivanovna (1730-1740), the niece of Peter the Great—for Peter had encouraged all foreigners, not Germans especially, instructed enough to help him to westernise Russia—who before her call to the throne of Russia had been Duchess of Courland at Mittau, and so was surrounded by a Court whose language and *kultur* was German. During her puerile reign the real autocrat of Russia was her favourite the German Biron (or Bühren), of Mecklenburg descent, whose rule over Russia, involving as it did the control by myriads of German minions and officials, goes down to Russian history as the hated *Bironovchtchina.* It included among its agents Ostermann the General, Loewenvald, Korff, Keyserling, Münnich, and a Bismarck. All the historians can say in their favour is that the German officials were "more laborious and more exact" than the Russians of that clouded time, whom they had supplanted, and over whom they terrorised. This happy epoch of German peaceful penetration came to an end, for a period,

by the deposition and imprisonment of Anne's successor, the boy Emperor Ivan and his mother, a German, the Regent Anne Leopoldovna. Elizabeth Petrovna, the only surviving daughter of the great Tsar, seized the throne, which Ivan occupied but which was by right her own, in 1741, and Russia breathed again—and became Slav and happy anew. But the German influence was to spring up afresh. Elizabeth named as her successor her nephew Peter of Holstein, who was, owing to dynastic alliances, a German prince, and married him in 1744 to Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst, a German princess. When the Empress died in 1761, her nephew, now Peter III., a profound admirer of Frederick the Great, of Prussia, not only was his imitator, but was so much under his influence as to be almost his willing vassal. His wife, Sophia of Zerbst, dethroned him in 1762, and reigned as Catherine II., and though she reigned by Russian favour, and was forced to give all her doings a Russian colouring, the German influence remained, especially among the bureaucracy. Her son Paul and his wife, Maria of Würtemberg, did not lessen this influence, and during his short mad reign the Court favour of the Baltic families, the Pahlens, Lievens, etc., was great; and one must remember that, truly Russian though these families are now, then their *kultur* was wholly from Germany and they called themselves German. Napoleon detected this, and at his renowned interview with the Emperor Alexander (the successor of Paul) at Tilsit in 1807, he said to the Russian Emperor: " Pourquoi vous entourez-vous d'autres gens que de Russes? Je n'aime point ces Livoniens. . . . Pourquoi ne point donner leurs places à des Russes," noting doubtless their German *kultur*.

Since that time the Russian Court has been always presided over by German princesses, with the exception of the Empress Dowager, a Dane; and this has by no means assisted in freeing the Russians from the link between Germany and the ever-growing bureaucracy, but has often made the bonds much tighter. Two bad results came of this unholy alliance: First, that Germany—*i.e.*, Prussia—became the god of the

Bureaucrats, often educated there; second, that everything of Russian interest was despised and feared. All native progress was dreaded and persecuted, unless it was on Germanised lines, and any Russian ideas were regarded (perhaps often truly) as revolutionary, and were punished severely as such, in a manner which we hope cannot occur again.

But nations must grow, and new plants must struggle towards the light, and in doing so overcome the weeds by which they are hindered, or be overcome by them; and thus the Russian plant has just now risen and overcome the bureaucratic weed of German growth, and with it the Autocracy by which it has been fostered.

Far from Russia as we are, one had only to listen (and think over) the gossip one heard from the few travellers from thence who came here in war-time. One told of official corruption; from another we heard of official hindrance of the army; a third spoke of the food troubles and profiteering; a fourth of the desperate spread of German influence by bribes of Prussian money. Then came news of the hypnotic power of the worthless Rasputin over the Empress; the reactionary tendency of the latter, and the want of vigour of the Emperor to free himself from this. One saw, if one sifted the evidence, that a great Revolution must come soon, and it has come—since Rasputin's violent death. At the time one is writing it is not certain whether the reign of the formerly autocratic House of Romanov is at an end for ever, or only in abeyance, but one does know that the Duma and its friend the Provisional Government, in which there is not a single name of German origin, are in power; that their admiration of the British Parliament and of British liberty is vast; and that they hope to pursue the war hand in hand with the Allies, the " dark forces " which hitherto hampered Russia having, in spite of the dangers of a Revolution, been cleared away.

NEW AND OLD GREECE

By F. R. Scatcherd

" This war is not really a war. It is a world revolution—a struggle between two sets of moral principles, two ways of thinking, two controlling ideas affecting the whole future of human destiny.

" It is a battle to the finish between the Goliath of a mechanical Civilization and the David of an inspired Humanity—a fateful conflict between the democratic ideal of orderly advance in the direction of progress, and the imperialistic ideal, a violently retrogressive step in world-history."—Platon Drakoules ('Η Ακρόπολις, *August*, 1915.)

NEW GREECE

I

M. Diomedes, the representative of Mr. Venizelos and of New Greece, has been staying a short time in London.

From our conversation I gathered that the fundamental idea of Mr. Venizelos is that Greece has, perforce, as a duty to herself, to safeguard her traditions and to further her interests. In order to discharge this duty, Greece must be in close touch with England and France.

When the world-war broke out, Mr. Venizelos immediately perceived that neutrality was impossible for Greece —impossible for two reasons: (1) Greece was the ally of Serbia. (2) Serbia was attacked. To stand with folded arms while Serbia was being crushed would constitute, not only an infamy, but a supreme folly, because ultimately Greece would find herself alone, face to face with her hereditary enemy, the neighbouring state of Bulgaria, relatively

all-powerful, and able to impose her will upon her impotent neighbours.

Besides this geographical reason, Mr. Venizelos saw that all the world was in travail, struggling to give birth to a new and better world order—a world order that should embody not only truer moral ideas, but nobler economic conceptions than those of the fast vanishing past; and for Greece to remain aloof at such a juncture in human evolution was, in his view, to declare herself hopelessly decadent —to prove herself unworthy to take an honourable place in the body of the new comity of nations which should issue from the gigantic conflict now shaking human society to its very foundations.

This clear-sighted policy, consonant with all the noblest aspirations, ideals, and desires of the Greek nation, and in harmony with all its most vital interests, was frustrated by the intervention of King Constantine. Mr. Venizelos regards the King as being imbued with the moral and political ideals of the Prussian Militarist. His Majesty certainly believes in the possible supremacy of the Central Powers in Europe, he apparently admires Teutonic *Kultur*, but this does not of necessity imply that he desires the triumph of Pan-Germanism or wishes to see all Europe, Greece included, at the feet of the Kaiser, though recent occurrences favour that view. He and his entourage have apparently acted as if in repudiation of all the principles of Græco-Latin civilization, and have reduced the policy of the nation to the level of the *Kabinets-Politik* of the Vienna Congress.

Strong in the support of public opinion, and sure of the victory of the Allies, once the British Empire should find itself involved in the conflict, Mr. Venizelos early set himself in bold and vigorous opposition to the royal policy, and, together with three-fifths of the Greek nation, placed himself on the side of the Entente. Everywhere Mr. Venizelos went the people spontaneously declared themselves in his favour, and abolished, without any objection, all other opposing forms of power. They have also furnished him

with the material basis that has enabled him to put into practical effect his pro-Entente policy.

Thus allied with the Entente, Mr. Venizelos feels deeply and profoundly all that such a solidarity implies. As our ally, with the enthusiastic army which he has organized, he can take an active part on the Balkan front with the Allied forces, and his soldiers now find themselves side by side in the same trenches as the British soldiers. Together they make the attack, together they endure valiantly the changing fortunes of war.

Victory will be with the Entente, and to this victory on the Balkan front the Greeks under Venizelos will have contributed their quota. Victory once assured, no one in Old Greece will, any longer, be able to resist the force of current events. Then Greece, the whole of Greece, purified of all pro-German factors, will become once more united in a policy of friendship with the progressive Powers of the West.

If at this moment the people of Old Greece present the appearance of attachment to the royal policy, that is in his opinion simple illusion, and not in the least degree a reality. The voice of the people of Athens and other towns is simply strangled and stifled by the agents of the King, who are still in the pay of Germany. By incessant threats which have never ceased they terrorize all classes of the population. The possession of a portrait of Mr. Venizelos, if detected, becomes a sure foundation for the launching of an accusation of *lèse-majesté*. But all this terror, with the terrorists, will melt away as mists before the rising sun once the victory of the Entente is seen to be an assured fact.

(*To be continued.*)

LONDON THEATRES

Haymarket Theatre.—"General Post," by Harold Terry.

"War plays" have, admittedly, been rather a failure up to the present, though a kindlier fate may shine on them after the cessation of hostilities. An exception may be made in the present case—an exception which the audience signalized in no uncertain manner. But the success of "General Post" is due, not to any special patriotic or sensational appeal, but to its intensely human qualities. It deals, in a word, with the topsy-turvydom in social—and, we may add, marital—conventions, brought about by martial conditions. And is it not right that it should be so, and has not Mars, ever since Lucretius wrote on the "Nature of Things," been intimately associated with Venus?

Well, Mars in this instance is a tailor, and the goddess the daughter of a baronet. However, in the present instance the tailor is no ordinary tailor, but a philosopher who has read Nietzsche and Sudermann.

The first act is before the war, and therefore there is something unconventional in the daughter of a Baronet falling in love with her father's tailor. He refuses her (*sic*) because it "would never do," in spite of his neat Territorial uniform, which arouses the wrath of her father, almost as much as the prospect of having a cloth-cutter as a son-in-law. Then comes the second act, which is during the War: topsy-turvydom—the Baronet a private in the V.T.C., his son seconded to the battalion of which the tailor is the C.O. Everybody accepts the situation—except the Baronet's wife; but the girl realizes in the position her "amazing conduct" in the first act.

The curtain rises again: the War is over (date omitted from the programme!). The tailor is now a V.C., famous everywhere for an act of supreme daring and courage, and a Brigadier-General withal.

All are now reconciled to the prospect of the marriage—except the girl, whose turn it is now to refuse him. Audience in distress. When lo! the old family butler cuts the knot by coming in. A query by the butler. "No," she replies, "I am engaged." The butler congratulates her heartily, and all is well. The audience was appeased.

Mr. Norman MacKinnel as the Baronet, who only foresaw the War after it had broken out, and then cheerfully stands to attention in his tailor's presence; Miss Lilian Braithwaite as his wife, and Miss Madge Titheradge as the romantic daughter, deserve special praise; the latter is unquestionably the most gifted of the younger actresses in London.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

"LETTERS FROM A FRENCH HOSPITAL"*

(Reviewed by Olga Novikoff)

This is a delightful little book. If you once begin to read it, I feel sure you will not easily tear yourself away until you have finished it.

But these letters do more than interest the reader; they evoke deep feelings of real sympathy and compassion, and a strong desire to alleviate the sufferings caused by the performance of most sacred and patriotic duties.

Vauvenargue was right in insisting upon the mysterious link between the heart and the mind: "Les grandes pensées viennent du cœur." Yes, indeed! Does not our heart throb with emotion when we are trying to develop some new idea or great scheme?

Some years ago there was a very interesting controversy in Russia between the patriotic Slavophils and the so-called "Westerners" (cosmopolitans.) The question in dispute was: "Can science be national or not?"

Having always belonged to the Slavophil party, I had learned that the national element should permeate not only our daily life, but also that science which was emphatically described as "Russian Science."

In our days, I sometimes wonder how far patriotic feelings may penetrate philanthropy, and I have come to the conclusion that our philanthropy, no matter on how large a scale, is, and ought to be, patriotic. In times of war—not

* "Letters from a French Hospital." Constable and Co., 1917. Price 2s

only in such a monstrous war as has been started by our cruel and shameless enemy the Kaiser—one cannot help a feeling of resentment towards the enemy, and an ardent link between ourselves and our allies.

The authoress of these letters, in treating the French "blessés" with the utmost kindness, exhibits this feeling to perfection. She has, too, so great a power of propaganda that one is not surprised to see that the kind and generous publisher of her letters, simply designated as "the uncle," should be sending presents of every sort to her poor wounded soldiers. The latter were grateful and much touched by the generous attention of their unknown English benefactor and his charming niece, whom they designated "Mademoiselle Meess."

There are delightful little descriptions in this book. For instance, one of the patients was severely hit, and to improve his condition was not an easy task for the sympathetic nurse. I cannot refrain from the pleasure of drawing attention to the following picture (on page 24), given in her own words: "One of the first days that he was able to speak, I asked him if he would like me to write to anyone. He said: 'Yes, his wife.' I wrote how much better he was, and then he dictated a few words of his own, and I said: 'Now I shall put your name.' He said: 'Mettez, "Ton petit mari, Augustin." Mademoiselle, croyez-vous qu'elle m'aimera comme autrefois? J'étais un beau garçon?'

"That confirmed old maid, myself, replied: 'Si j'avais un mari, et il me revenait blessé, je l'aimerais plus que jamais—et la plupart des femmes pensent ainsi.' He said: 'Merci. Vous me rendez le courage.' Is it not sweet?"

Readers as a rule are rather egotistical in their curiosity. They always want to know something that has been hidden for some reason or other.

But in this case, remembering that we live now in time of war, it ought to be borne in mind that the slightest thing may do harm, and, *nolens volens*, natural local conditions have to be mentioned with great prudence and care.

These restrictions have been carefully observed by the publisher, who thus deserves only to be commended.

So, after all, I try to find fault with this little book, but in reality, my blame ends in nothing but praise.

The authoress has evidently found her way to the hearts of the French soldiers; and in mentioning this special point, I should like to say that other English women, among whom I may name Lady Muriel Paget and Lady Sybil Grey, have endeared themselves in like manner to the *Russian* heart; for they have established English hospitals in Petrograd for the wounded Russian soldiers.

Christian charity is indeed a noble and inspiring bond of union, which has been proved not only by the giving of service, but also of material help by Great Britain. As far as such very generous help is concerned, I suppose I may be allowed to mention a fact very dear to my Russian heart: my compatriots, Monsieur and Madame Mouravieff-Apostol, have established in London a hospital for fifty wounded English officers, and, not content with spending a great deal of money on the comfort of their patients, they daily give almost all their time to this noble work. Is this not a charming jewel in the crown of the Anglo-Russian Entente?

ARTICLES TO NOTE

"The Indian Cotton Duties," by J. B. Pennington (*Westminster Gazette*, March 24).

"Mr. Chamberlain, India, and Lancashire," by A. G. C. Harvey, M.P. (*Common Sense*, March 26).

"What India Has Done and Can Do," by St. Nihal Singh (*Reynolds's Newspaper*, March 27).

"Russia" (*Times* Literary Supplement, March 29).

"Roumania after the War" (*The Near East*, March 30).

INDIA AND THE COTTON DUTIES

THE history of the taxation of imports and exports in India during the last fifty years provides much food for reflection. It is a history of alternate policies tried and found wanting. Until 1860 nearly all imports were taxed at 10 per cent., while exports paid 3 per cent. In 1864 the reduction on imports reached 7½ per cent., and in 1875 5 per cent. There was also a steady decrease in the list of articles taxed on being exported, so that in 1875 this list was confined to rice, indigo, and lac. The Marquis of Salisbury in his despatch of May 31, 1876, declared that such taxation was "wrong in principle, injurious in its practical effect, self-destructive in its operation." In 1877 a resolution to that effect was adopted in the House of Commons. Next year Sir John Strachey, Finance Member of the Council, enunciated the principle that export duties should be levied on those commodities only in which the exporting country has practically a monopoly of production. The same year saw the remission of duties on the coarser manufactured cotton, and the next year on grey cotton goods. In 1882 the position was that a tax was levied only on imported salt and liquor with a countervailing Excise.

In 1894 financial pressure led to the imposition of a tax on imported and Indian manufactured cotton of a certain class to the extent of 5 per cent., which in February, 1896, was reduced to 3½ per cent. It must be noted that these Excise duties were imposed against the wishes of the supreme Government in India in obedience to what they described as "the instructed decision of the British Cabinet." Sir James Westland, who as Finance Minister had to introduce the measure, declared that he did it with the greatest regret and repugnance, and it was with the utmost reluctance that the Viceroy's Council complied in this instance with the behests of the home Government. The real point involved in the imposition of these Excise duties was that the very poor of India had to pay more for their coarser cotton, while Manchester competed on favoured terms with Indian mill-owners in the sale of the finer counts. The import duties thus operated in favour of Manchester manufactured cotton goods sold in India; and

if the Lancashire manufacturers were now called upon to pay for indirect benefits it would probably be found that they would have to place many millions to the credit of India.

In view of the spontaneous sacrifices India has made, and of the heroic part she has played in the defence of the Empire, it is hardly right that in the matter of these duties her peoples should not be treated generously; and many of her well-wishers hold that it is a pity these Excise duties have not been repealed altogether. A noteworthy point in the speech of the Secretary of State in the historic debate on March 14 was as follows: " I am profoundly convinced that the utmost conceivable injury which could be done to Lancashire would be nothing like that which they apprehend. I quoted to the deputation the other day the statement of an expert, that only 2 per cent. of the output of Lancashire was really in competition with India. Assume that was an under-estimate; double the figure, treble it, multiply it three times, and I appeal to Lancashire itself whether it would even then justify the apprehensions which they have expressed."

In support of the Secretary of State's contention we may perhaps draw attention to the fact that in the last pre-War year Lancashire supplied 75 per cent of India's total consumption, and seeing the climatic and other limitations under which Indian manufacturers work there is no reason to suppose that this proportion will be much altered. It is true that Indian industrialism is constantly developing, but Indian consumption is also increasing at an enormous pace, and Lancashire will know well how to take full advantage of this fact.

For the rest, in accordance with Mr. Asquith's amendment, the whole position of our Imperial policy is to be reviewed at the end of the War, and in that connection we may draw attention to Mr. J. F. L. Rowlston's suggestion in a letter to *The Times* on the day of the debate in which he says: " I would suggest that the best means of meeting the Lancashire grievance would be for India to grant the Mother Country a rebate or preference as Canada does on imports from the United Kingdom."

There are some who still think that Lancashire has grievances in this matter, but if she has, she will probably be more than compensated by the opening up of Mesopotamia and Arabia for the sale of Manchester goods, and we may there expect a repetition of what happened in the case of Egypt and the Soudan, where the sale of Lancashire goods grew in value from £1,805,000 in 1900 to £3,285,000 in 1913. When it is seen how greatly the Lancashire trade developed in British West Africa prior to the War—the growth was from £877,000 in 1900 to £2,406,000 in 1913—there need be little hesitation in prophesying a much greater expansion under the stimulus of the new Imperialism, and much benefit from the gallant part India has played in this great war in helping in the conquest of East Africa and Mesopotamia.

THE ARABS FREE

AFTER four centuries of ruthless oppression, their palaces in ruins, their country a waste, their liberties a shadow, the Arabs have at last been freed from Turkish misrule. The entry of the British and Indian columns into Baghdad has culminated this great revolution. Thus an end has been made of alien institutions and Teutonic machinations, and Arabia and Mesopotamia are left free to "rise once more to greatness and renown among the peoples of the earth."

The British proclamation to the people of the vilayet of Baghdad, glorious alike in its simplicity of phrase and the loftiness of its purpose, will rank for all time as a standard to be followed in the government of peoples.

"It is the hope," it runs, "of the British Government that the aspirations of your philosophers and writers shall be realized, and that once again the people of Baghdad shall flourish, enjoying their wealth and substance under institutions which are in consonance with their sacred laws and racial ideals." Herein lies the glorious justification of the King of Hedjaz in appealing to England when the time had become ripe to cast off the Turkish yoke. The death-blow to Turkey's religious predominance was undoubtedly struck, not by the cynical apathy of Abdul Hamid, but by the "Turkification policy" of the Young Turks, who had themselves abandoned the best traditions of their race by making themselves the tools of Enver Pasha's Teutonic ambitions.

The spontaneous revolt of Mecca and Medina, which symbolized the disgust of the Arab world with the Teuton exploitation of Muhammedanism, was thus only the beginning of a movement which will not stop short of the foundation of a vast Arab Empire freed from Ottoman control.

It remains to be added that the emancipation of the Arab people, and the freeing of their religion from the trammels of unscrupulous alien tyranny, cannot but be a source of profound congratulation to their co-religionists in India, who, while they felt keenly the trial through which Islam was passing, through the ill-advised actions of Turkey, must now rejoice in seeing their holy places freed at last from the political exploitation of de-Muhammedanized Levantines and Prussian capitalists.

In this connection it is of interest to recall that in a paper read before the East India Association as long ago as December 21, 1875, it was urged that: "When the fall of the Sultan comes, it would have as little effect in India as the fall of the Pope's temporal power had in America"—a statement that was not challenged.



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

His Majesty the King-Emperor, opening the School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, London, on February 23, struck the key-note of the aim of the new institution when he said:

"The School is about to open its doors in the midst of an unparalleled crisis in the world's history. For more than two years the peoples of my Dominions with loyalty and devotion have vied with each other in offering their blood and treasure for the prosecution of a righteous war. The sense of common sacrifice and common endeavour has drawn us all nearer to one another in feeling and sympathy. Meanwhile we believe that the peaceful labours of this institution in spreading accurate and scientific knowledge of Eastern life and thought will foster the spirit of loyalty and patriotism and knit together still closer the many nations of my Empire."

Standing in the imposing library of the building which for a hundred years has stood for the advancement of learning and is now adapted by means of alteration and extension to its new uses, His Majesty looked beyond the work which will be done in the heart of the Metropolis to the far-reaching results that will be achieved, and declared:

"If it happily succeeds in imparting to the pupils sent out as teachers of unselfish government and civilized commerce a clearer comprehension of the thoughts and lives of the diverse races of the East, the good effects of that success will extend far beyond the immediate and tangible results."

He added a special reference to India in these words:

"The ancient literature and the art of India are of unique interest in the history of human endeavour. I look to the School to quicken public interest in the intellectual tradition of that great continent, and to promote and assist the labours of the students in these departments of knowledge, to the mutual advantage of both countries."

Sir John P. Hewett, Chairman of the Governing Body, in an address setting forth the aims of the School and giving particulars as to their fulfilment, said that it was desired more especially to emphasize the importance of the School as a centre of Indian studies, and its creation as in some measure a recognition of the great position which India occupies in the Empire. He went on to observe:

"We take your Majesty's gracious presence as a sign that your Majesty is fully cognizant of and impressed with the importance to the Empire of the study of Oriental and African languages and civilizations on a scale which Great Britain, alone among great countries of the world interested in the East, has not hitherto regarded as necessary; and we have planned that our School shall be at least equal to the Oriental Schools in foreign capitals, and adequate to Imperial needs. We propose to teach the languages of eight hundred million people."

In expressing pleasure in the presence of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, recognizing her interest in the higher education of women and in the part which women doctors and others are playing in the East, Sir John Hewett mentioned that the School has women teachers and women students, and that "equal opportunities are given in every way to men and women alike."

Lord Curzon, Chairman of the Appeal Committee, spoke of the School as destined to become a clearing-house of ideas between East and West, a bridge between the mind and character of Great Britain and those Oriental peoples with whom she is brought into such close contact. He described His Majesty as "the most travelled Sovereign since the days of the Roman Emperor Hadrian," and stated that there was hardly one of the countries, the language of which would be taught at the School, which he had not visited and of which he could not speak with personal knowledge. "The central tabernacle of the Empire is set up in this country, but its outer courts are thronged with countless hosts who will continue to look to us in the future, as in the past, for administrative guidance, for inspiration, and for example. As to the future of those countries and those peoples, and what degree of autonomy or self-government will be conceded to them, or what will be the link that will unite them to us in the future, I hope it will never be said that the country which started them forward on a career of constitutional development, of industrial and commercial expansion, and of moral advance will shrink from the task because it becomes more difficult, or because the end is lost in a cloud of mist. Rather may institutions like the School be a wayside inn on the road which East and West will travel together, hand in hand, in an ever-closer and fraternal union."

A large company gathered to greet Their Majesties for the opening ceremony; academical robes and the robes of the City Fathers lent brightness to the scene, and the orchestra of Trinity

College of Music, conducted by Sir Frederick Bridge, gave a delightful programme before and after the ceremony. On leaving the library Their Majesties, accompanied by the Lord Mayor of London, Lord and Lady Curzon, Dr. H. A. L. Fisher, Minister for Education, in attendance upon His Majesty, Sir John Hewett, Mr. P. J. Hartog, and Dr. Denison Ross, Director of the School, made a tour of the building, inspecting the four rooms for the languages of India, the Women's Common Room, and the small and large lecture-rooms for history and religions. Before leaving the building His Majesty expressed to Dr. Ross his gratification in the arrangements and his interest in the work of the School.

Addressing the Royal Society of Literature on February 21 on the subject of Modern Hindustani Drama, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali pointed out that, including Urdu and Hindi—which are in reality one language in the mouth of the people—Hindustani is spoken by about 136,000,000 of people in India, extending, roughly, over one-third of the country, including Burma and the Feudatory States. He spoke of the different influences which have produced modern Hindustani drama, mentioning Classical Sanskrit drama, religious Hindu plays, Perso-Muhammadan love-poetry and legends, and the English stage and modern European traditions. Shakespeare's name is decidedly popular, but his plots are given an Indian setting, which completely transforms them into Indo-Muhammadan plays. Scholarly translations follow the original with more fidelity, but could not be acted on the Hindustani stage. It is the floating, casteless society of Indian towns which furnishes most of the actors and actresses, and the Parsis appear to be the most successful managers or directors of dramatic companies. Most of them are touring companies; the Parsi Curzon Company of Calcutta has toured all over India, and visited even Burma and the Straits Settlements. Stage conditions are not yet of a very advanced character; plays frequently last all night. The output of Hindustani dramas is considerable, and its quality is improving. "It is by penetration of the stage with brains and a high sense of its vocation that its ultimate salvation will be achieved."

Sir Francis Younghusband's delightful lecture to the Royal Geographical Society early in March on "Indian Frontier Geography" was aptly described by the President, Mr. Douglas Freshfield, as an admirable essay on travel. It was very much more than a geographical record. Sir Francis declared that the love of beauty is as important as the love of truth, and he made practical suggestions as to where explorers in the Himalayas should direct their steps, not omitting, on the way, to admire the beauty of the rocks themselves. He advocated the further entry of women into

the field of exploration. Referring with warm appreciation to the valuable work of Miss Mary Kingsley and Miss Gertrude Lothian Bell, he urged capable women to investigate special regions, and said that their descriptions of localities, giving the impressions of cultured minds, would be most welcome. He recalled the fact that he had seen a giant peak in the Himalayas which he imagined must be K. 2, but the Duke of the Abruzzi had proved that it was not the famous peak. What was it, then? Here was a chance for explorers, and Sir Francis remarked that there was still much to discover about the eastern part of the Himalayas, where the Brahmaputra breaks through the great range. He agreed that the Government of India must be circumspect with regard to giving permission to explorers and travellers, but if they come with recommendations from the Royal Geographical Society and others of repute, they might well be helped forward on their way and make use of the admirable work of the Indian Survey. Small wonder that Sir Thomas Holdich, expressing appreciation of the lecture and the wonderfully fine lantern-slides, declared the call of the mountains to be irresistible; General Rawling spoke of the expedition to Mount Everest which was planned just before the War, and hoped that the War would soon be over so that it might be carried out. Mr. Freshfield, from the chair, told how an American newspaper syndicate desired to organize an expedition to climb the highest mountain in the world, and begged him to tell them the shortest way! He said he hoped it would be a British explorer, not a sensation-loving expedition from outside the British Empire, who would achieve the yet unattained and find himself on the summit of Mount Everest.

Up-to-date information with regard to the silk industry in India was given to the Society of Arts, Indian Section, recently by Professor H. Maxwell-Lefroy, formerly Entomologist to the Government of India, and now occupying an important position at the Imperial College of Science and Technology, South Kensington. The Professor has carried out an investigation in India "from the point of view of India, of the Indian silk-rearer and silk-weaver, not from the aspect of the British manufacturer." His report has been submitted to the Government of India, and Lord Islington, who presided at the lecture, promised it sympathetic consideration when it reached the India Office. The Professor pointed out that production in Bengal is probably less than a tenth of what it was forty years ago; the prices of rice and jute have steadily increased, but the price of silk has remained what it was, or else fallen. Only one in a thousand of its immense population adds to his earnings by growing mulberry or castor for feeding silk-worms. Why? The lecturer gave these reasons: climate, custom, prices, diseases, and ignorance. He urged that where the industry is to be started or restarted there must be skilled people who can say when and how silkworms must

be grown and the methods which will best suit the different areas. Sir Louis Dane's gratifying story of the success achieved in Kashmir and the Panjab was heard with keen interest, and subsequent speakers in the discussion strongly supported the lecturer's declaration that there must be close co-operation between growers in India and merchants in Britain if success is to be achieved.

Is the criminal of the Western Panjab the outcome of his country's past history or the present administration of law and order? This was the question discussed by Major A. J. O'Brien in his paper read before a meeting of the Royal Anthropological Society last month. He found a good deal to say, and to say with flashes of humour, for both points of view. The social conscience of the Western Panjabi, he considered, had more in common with the law of Moses than the law of England. The law's delays and uncertainties, he added, were developed to a degree unknown in England, and as a direct consequence the man with a real grievance endeavoured to protect himself against these delays by the "wild justice" of revenge, and against the uncertainties by the manufacture of evidence.

Keen interest among teachers in this country is being aroused in India's great heritage of ancient literature and philosophy through the work of the Union of East and West and the Indian Art and Dramatic Society. Special lectures with dramatic illustrations have been given for them, and many have joined the Union. There was a very large attendance at the Grafton Galleries, open to members only, when "Chitra" was given on March 16, with Edythe Goodall in the name part and William Stack as Arjuna. The moving representation of this truly feminist play, founded on an episode of the "Mahabharata," created a deep impression, as also did the recital by William Stack as Death, and Barbara Everest as Nachiketas, of "The Secret of Death," from the Katha Upanishad. Admiral Sir Edmund Freemantle, from the chair, warmly approved the drawing together of East and West through the great heritage of literature as well as by comradeship in arms.

The School of Oriental Studies began work on January 28 in the building formerly known as the London Institution, Finsbury Circus, but altered to suit its new purpose, under the direction of Dr. Denison Ross, C.I.E., although the formal inauguration only took place on February 23, in the presence of the King-Emperor. The purpose of the new school on what may be called its modern side was ably summarized in an article in the Educational Supplement of *The Times* on the opening day, thus: "The teaching of modern languages to equip the administrator, the soldier, the mer-

chant, or the missionary—and it may be added the *mem-sahib*—with knowledge of the speech of those among whom they sojourn will be but one side of this great Imperial enterprise. Not only will facilities be provided for linguistic and literary research, and special arrangements be made for advanced students who do not desire to follow the ordinary courses, but instruction in the history, religions, and customs of Oriental and African countries will also form a great and integral feature of the work. The chief aim in the creation of the school may be broadly described as that of a better understanding of the Orient by Britons whose business or pleasure or study takes them east of Suez, or who by inclination or circumstances are brought into contact with the manifold problems of that part of the world. Here, again, the policy of co-ordination and concentration is happily applied. Indian Civil Service probationers will find provision made for their studies, hitherto carried on at the two colleges. Inter-collegiate arrangements are being made with the London School of Economics for instruction in the sociology and anthropology of the less civilized races. Similar arrangements will be made with University College for instruction in phonetics, and modern phonetic methods will be used for the acquirement of correct pronunciation."

The Senate of London University has assented to the transfer to the School of the teachers in the Oriental departments at University and King's Colleges, excluding certain subjects such as Egyptology, Assyriology, and Hebrew, and nearly the whole of the Oriental staffs of these colleges have been transferred under this arrangement. The Governing Body hope "to co-operate with the great Oriental schools at Oxford and Cambridge and elsewhere." The School is an institution of the University of London, and courses will be arranged for the pass, honours, and higher degrees in Oriental languages of the University. The initial scheme for the teaching staff is as follows:—In Group I. (Ancient India) Dr. L. B. Barnett will teach Sanskrit, and Mrs. M. H. Bode, PH.D., Pali and Buddhist literature. In Group II. (the Near East) the director of the school, Dr. E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., will fill the chair of Persian, and the other teachers of Persian will be Mr. C. E. Wilson and Mr. G. H. Darab Khan. Dr. T. W. Arnold, C.I.E., will teach classical Arabic, while colloquial Bagdadi Arabic will be taught by Haji Abdul Mejid Belshah. In Group III. (Northern, Eastern and Western India) the teachers are: Hindustani and Hindi, Mr. C. D. Steel and Mr. A. Yusuf Ali; Bengali, Mr. J. D. Anderson; Marathi, Mr. J. W. Neill. The other appointments are: Group IV. (Southern India): Tamil and Telugu, Mr. R. W. Frazer, late I.C.S.; Tamil and Singalese, Mr. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe. Group V. (Further India and Malay Archipelago): Burmese, Mr. A. L. Hough; Malay, Mr. C. O. Blagden. Group VI. (the Far East): Chinese, the Rev. S. B. Drake and Dr. Weichen G. C. Ch'en; Japanese, Mr. H. Bonar and Mr. N.

Kato. Group VII. (Africa): Swahili and Bantu, Miss Alice Werner; Hausa, Mr. Withers Gill.

A lecture of special interest to Indian law students in this country and to others, both in and outside of the profession, was given by Mr. T. B. W. Ramsay, barrister-at-law, to the National Indian Association recently, on "The Romance of the Inns of Court." Mr. Ramsay took his hearers back to the Anglo-Saxon days when there were no professional lawyers in England, and advice on legal matters could only be obtained from priests. He showed how in Norman times it was permitted to a litigant to appoint a deputy to plead for him, and how there gradually arose a class of men, who were not priests, who devoted themselves to the study of the law. In 1207 the clergy were prohibited from practising in the secular courts, and under Magna Carta the Court of Common Pleas was fixed "in one certain place." Many persons made a habit of attending this court, and thus acquired a knowledge of procedure as well as of law. In 1254 a Bull of Pope Innocent V. forbade the clergy to teach the common law, and some years later there was created a special and exclusive class of pleaders. This is the origin of the English Bar. The Ordinance is the "De Attornatis et Apprenticiis"; the attornati were the skilled agents and advisers, and the apprenticii were the lawyers. There were originally three hostels of learning in London, and the residents were divided into teachers, or masters of the law, and their apprentices. From these societies the Inns of Court and the Inns of Chancery were derived.

Mr. Ramsay told the story of Gray's Inn, Lincoln's Inn, and the Temple, including the Temple Church, and Inner and Middle Temple. He showed how for many years the history of the Temple is intimately connected with the Knights Templars and the Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John. He found romance in all the Inns of Court, and even tragedy, and his list of famous men who belonged to them included names familiar in history. In addition to the lecture, Mr. Ramsay kindly conducted a party of members and friends to the places in which his historic survey had aroused wide interest.

The Central Islamic Society celebrated the birthday of Muhammad this year at the Hotel Cecil. The first part of the celebration was religious in character, including prayers, hymns, readings from the Koran, and a vivid sketch of the Prophet's life and character by Mr. Marmaduke Picthall. Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, chairman on the occasion, urged upon his co-religionists the need to put into practice the democratic idea of brotherhood taught by Islam. There was Eastern and Western music, and the President of the Society, Prince Abdul Karim Khan, welcomed Muslims and non-Muslims. It was a very representative gathering.

Aberdeen is expressing its pleasure at the selection of Sir James Meston, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, to be, in company with Sir S. P. Sinha and His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir, a representative of India to assist the Secretary of State for India at the Imperial War Cabinet, which will be an epoch-making event. Aberdeen had the advantage recently of hearing an excellent lecture by the Rev. Dr. Shepherd, of Rajputana, on the Rajputs and their history, and their readiness to bear their share of the burden imposed upon the Empire by the present great struggle for freedom and civilization—a readiness which has been shown by the Princes and people throughout India. Aberdeen has also shown its appreciation of this readiness by organizing an Indian Flag Day for the benefit of the Indian troops. Sir Andrew Fraser was president of the committee, and had the support of the Lord Provost and the Principal of the University.

Remarkable success attended the loan exhibition at King's College, Strand, of reproductions of Russian pictures, organized by Mrs. Sonia E. Howe, early in January. His Highness the Grand Duke Michael, in opening the exhibition, pointed out its importance in enlightening the British public with regard to Russian life and character. The pictures were not so much an art exhibition as a portrayal of the daily life, interests, occupations, and amusements of the people, together with outstanding facts of Russian history. The artistic war loan posters attracted considerable attention, also the illustrations of fairy tales. Mrs. Howe's short explanatory talks each day about the exhibits and her rendering of Russian fairy tales were much appreciated. It goes without saying that concerts of Russian music, organized by the well-known and brilliant Russian pianist, Madame Marie Levinskaja, were not only characteristic and truly artistic, but illuminating as to Russian music in its many phases. Madame Levinskaja had the able co-operation of many distinguished artists, including Lena Kontorovitch, Daniel Melsa, Felix Salmond, Daisy Kennedy, Benno Moisevitch, Slava Krassavina, Mme. Ratmirova, Emile Doehaerd, Vera Kastelianski, and Edward Soermus. Dances were given by Mademoiselle Rambert and Madame Serafima Astafieva.

The following week the exhibition was transferred to the Hampstead Conservatoire, under the auspices of the Incorporated London Academy of Music. Sir Melville Beachcroft, Chairman of Council, and Lady Beachcroft, Dr. Yorke Trotter, Principal, and Mrs. Yorke Trotter, took an active interest in it. His Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Michael gave it his patronage, and again performed the opening ceremony. Many visitors were attracted both by the exhibits and the admirable concerts of Russian music, which were organized by Madame Levinskaja. The north of England and Scotland have also enjoyed the exhibition. Early in

March the exhibition was arranged in the Mansion House, London, by kind invitation of the Lord Mayor, and was visited by many, who expressed their pleasure and appreciation in having the facts of Russian life put before them in this admirably enlightening way. The whole of the proceeds of the exhibition are given to the Russian Prisoners of War Help Committee, and Mrs. Howe and her helpers are to be warmly congratulated upon the success and interest of the novel and enlightening service they are rendering to Russia and to Britain.

A. A. S.

MR. H. CHARLES WOODS ON THE BAGHDAD RAILWAY

Mr. H. Charles Woods, who last year read a paper on "Balkan Communications," gave an illustrated lecture on "The Baghdad Railway and its Tributaries" before the members of the Royal Geographical Society on Monday, February 19. The chair was taken by the President, Mr. Douglas William Freshfield, the famous explorer and mountaineer, and author of various books of travel. Among those noticed in the hall were Major-General Count Gleichen (late Grenadier Guards), Colonel Count Creppi (Italian Military Attaché), Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich, K.C.M.G., Sir Edwin Pears, Colonel A. C. Yate, Lady Grogan, Mrs. Archibald Little, and Mr. Walter Heathcote.

The President, in a few introductory words, said Mr. Charles Woods was now well known to the Society, and members would recollect that not long ago he read a paper on the Communications in the Balkans. Mr. Woods had traversed the country; in his travels he was a careful observer, and he might be relied on to place the facts before them intelligently.

Mr. H. Charles Woods introduced the subject to his hearers in the following terms: "Whatever may have been the actual hopes of Germany before the outbreak of the war, I think we are now correct in assuming that for considerably over two years the enemy has been playing not for victory, but for a draw. With this object in view it has been, and it is evident, that the Kaiser, knowing he could gain little, if anything, by force of arms in the West, has left no stone unturned to further his programme in the East—a programme which really means a lust for domination from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf. He has drawn Turkey and Bulgaria into the war upon his side. He has threatened and persuaded Greece. Germany and her Allies have now temporarily overrun Serbia and Roumania. The success of this policy is temporarily possessed of important local results. This policy has been adopted not so much for the purpose of achieving those results, but rather because the Balkan States constitute a bridge between Central Europe and Asiatic Turkey. It is for these reasons that, over and above the interest accruing to it as an ordinary means

of communication, we are compelled now to occupy ourselves with the past, present, and future of the Baghdad Railway, the development of which constitutes the very foundation of German policy in the East to-day."

After giving a detailed description of the Baghdad Railway in its various sections, and illustrating them by throwing on the screen some remarkable pictures, particularly of the Taurus region, which were received with great applause, Mr. Woods continued: "The present is a moment at which it is difficult, if not undesirable, to make a detailed forecast as to the future of the Baghdad Railway and of the other lines in Asiatic Turkey. Two things, however, seem certain. Firstly, sooner or later the Baghdad line or some other railway connecting the Persian Gulf with the Mediterranean and the Bosphorus will be completed. Secondly, the ownership and control of that line will depend not so much upon any agreements already made as upon the results of the war, and particularly upon the fate of Turkey. For years the Germans have turned their attention towards the East and towards the creation of a situation which pivots upon the idea of a Berlin-Baghdad Railway. It is for this reason that, whatever concessions may be offered to them near at home, the Allies must leave no stone unturned to prevent the conclusion of a peace which would leave the enemy still possessed of the predominating control in an undertaking which, once it is robbed of its political significance, can easily be established upon an international basis and controlled as a result of the adoption of some scheme of internationalization. It is internationalization."

At the conclusion of the lecture, Sir Edwin Pears paid an eloquent tribute to the lecturer, and referred to the enormous wealth of the country traversed by the Baghdad Railway, particularly in petroleum and other minerals. Colonel A. C. Yate gave an amusing illustration of German peaceful penetration, and how they intermingle archæological researches with commercial pursuits.

The proceedings ended with a vote of thanks moved by the President

THE RESOLUTION OF WELCOME TO THE INDIAN REPRESENTATIVES TO THE WAR CONFERENCE BY THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

At a meeting of the Council of the East India Association holden on Monday, March 26, the following resolution, proposed by Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., and seconded by Mr. T. J. Bennett, C.I.E., was carried unanimously:

> "The Council of the East India Association offer their cordial congratulations and welcome to Sir James Meston, K.C.S.I., Colonel H.H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, G.C.S.I., and Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha (the first Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council), on the important and historic occasion of their visit to England as Representatives of the Government, the Princes, and the People of India, at the invitation of H.M. Secretary of State for India, to aid him, in conjunction with the delegates from the Overseas Dominions of the Empire, in the deliberations of the War Council of the British Government."

Dr. Pollen very appositely drew attention to the following extract from the Proceedings of the East India Association held on Wednesday, April 24, 1912, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, when a paper was read by Sir William Chichele Plowden, K.C.S.I., on "Problems of Indian Administration," the Right Hon. the Earl of Minto presiding:

"Lord Minto: . . . As you know, the first Indian Member of the Viceroy's Council was the Hon. Mr. Sinha. I was constantly warned of the danger of the appointment, and of

all the risk we were about to run. However, he was appointed, and no one could ever have served me more loyally or more ably than he did. I cannot resist telling you a story about him; it is rather dramatic. I came back one Monday evening from Barrackpore to Calcutta to attend the first meeting of the newly appointed Council which was to assemble next day, and, almost immediately after I arrived at Government House, my Private Secretary, looking very serious, came into my office and told me that a Muhammadan Police Inspector, a most excellent public servant, had just been shot dead outside the Law Courts. It was a horrible assassination, and of dangerous political meaning. And almost at the same moment my anxiety was still further increased by a note from Mr. Sinha reminding me that the new Council was to meet immediately, and that he was sorry to say that he could not support certain clauses in the Press Act, which was a very strong measure we were about to introduce, and that he must therefore tender his resignation. The position was ominous; one of our best officers had been murdered close to Government House, my Indian Member of the Executive Council in whom I had put much trust had submitted his resignation, and the reformed Legislative Council was about to assemble for the first time. There was good cause for apprehension as to the future. However, about two hours later another note came from Mr. Sinha to say that when he first wrote to me he had not heard of the murder of the Police Inspector; that he recognized the serious state of affairs; and that, whatever happened, I might count upon him to stick to me through thick and thin. (Hear, hear.) He did so, and I dare say many of you will remember the spirited and eloquent speech he made on the introduction of the Press Act. I do not think we need ask for any greater proof of loyalty than was given to me by the first Indian Member of the Viceroy's Council. (Hear, hear.) . . ."

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

THE King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Nawab Saiyid Sir Shams-ul-Huda, K.C.I.E., to be a Puisne Judge of the Calcutta High Court in succession to Mr. Digambar Chatterjee.

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. Thomas Charles Pilling Gibbons, K.C., to be Advocate-General, Bengal.

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Sir Spencer Harcourt Butler, K.C.S.I., to be Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in succession to Sir James Meston, and of Sir Reginald Henry Craddock, K.C.S.I., to be Lieutenant-Governor of Burma in succession to Sir Harcourt Butler. Sir James Meston's term of office has been extended until November next, when the above changes will take effect.

The Right Honourable Austen Chamberlain, M.P., Secretary of State for India, has appointed Mr. James Bennett Brunyate, C.S.I., C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, to be a Member of the Council of India, in succession to Sir Theodore Morison, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

OBITUARY NOTE

GENERAL JOHN GUSTAVUS HALLIDAY

We noticed with regret the death of General John Gustavus Halliday, late of the Madras Army, which took place at his residence in Lee, near Blackheath. The deceased officer was the senior General of the whole Indian Army, and was, we believe, the oldest survivor of the late Honourable East India Company's military service. He came of an old Dumfriesshire family, remarkable for longevity; his elder brother, the late Sir Frederick Halliday, K.C.B., the first Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, died at the age of ninety-five, and two of his sisters reached the ages of ninety-seven and ninety-nine respectively. The General himself died within three months of his ninety-fifth birthday, having been born in 1822. He remembered the times when there were no railroads, and when a boy he had travelled on the Continent by Diligence. He entered the Company's service as a cadet at the age of sixteen, and arrived in India in 1838, and was posted to the Twelfth Madras Native Infantry.

He soon qualified as interpreter in Hindustani, and became Quarter-Master and Interpreter to his regiment; but he quitted it for civil employ in the Mysore Commission, then presided over by Sir Mark Cubbon, in which he passed the greater part of his long career in India. On attaining Lieut.-Colonel's rank, he reverted to military duty, as was the custom in the Company's service, and commanded his old regiment, the Twelfth Madras Infantry (now the Seventy-second Punjabis), at various stations in India and Burma, till he finally quitted India in 1874. He was promoted to be Regimental Colonel in 1875, and passed through the several grades till he became full General in 1888, and was relegated to the Unemployed Supernumerary List. His funeral took place at Lee Cemetery on the 8th February, and was attended by a large number of friends and relatives, including his two surviving sons-in-law, Lieut.-General F. H. Tyrrell and Major-General Sir Charles Scott, K.C.B., and his nephew, Lieut.-General George Halliday, son of the late Sir Frederick Halliday, K.C.B. The General had a large family, of whom one son and three daughters survive him; and seven of his grandsons are serving their King and country in the present war.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

MAY 15, 1917

FRONTIERS

By Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate, F.R.G.S., F.R.HIST.SOC.

If I venture to touch upon an abstruse problem which Sir Thomas Holdich has made the theme of the latest product of his wide experience and fertile pen,* I do so fully realizing that the subject can only be adequately handled by one who to the qualifications of the historian, geographer and ethnographer adds those of the scientific surveyor. To the last of these I can make no pretension. Such work as it fell to my lot to do—for instance, between the Irrawaddy and the Salween—was quite unscientific. Apart, however, from travel and study undertaken on my own account, I was privileged to take part in the work and experiences of the Afghan Boundary Commission of 1884-86, the survey party accompanying which was under the command of Major T. H. Holdich, as he then was. The address which he delivered before the Geographical Section of the British Association on September 7, 1916, not unnaturally followed the line of reasoning and embodied the arguments put forward in the volume entitled " Political Frontiers and Boundary Making," which made its appearance very soon afterwards. Professor Lyde, unavoidably prevented from presenting his own paper on the same subject to the British Association, has since further elaborated his views on Frontiers in an article contributed to the *Scottish Geographical*

* " Political Frontiers and Boundary Making," by Colonel Sir T. H. Holdich. Macmillan, 1916.

Magazine for November, 1916, in which he contends that Sir Thomas's " position was essentially military, and reminded one that much of his demarcation work had been done on ground which he had fought over in his younger days," and that he was still, regardless of the flight of time, " really criticizing a political line from the point of view of a young Captain of Engineers on very arduous active service." The savour of this little touch of humorous satire is delectable. Let us relish it and pass on. There is ever a wide gulf between the soldier and the academician.

Sir Thomas Holdich in his turn—in the Introduction to his " Political Frontiers and Boundary Making," indulges in a discreet allusion to eminent writers who have " set forth an academic ideal " of international boundaries and thus pronounces judgment on them: " I may perhaps venture to assert that these theories of the principles which should govern the adoption of an international boundary by no means accord with the exigencies of a practical delimitation "; and concludes with the pregnant remark: " The discussion of such an important subject as international frontiers and their boundaries might well exercise the literary skill of a profound thinker and writer."

We have had made to us a suggestion which may in due time bear fruit. Sir Thomas, as I will show presently, is not the first to make it. Will any one man face such an undertaking, or should it be entrusted to a scientific society? It is manifest that the author of " The Romance of Indian Surveys,"* and many a book and essay all bearing more or less on the " boundary " problem, has himself qualifications for the work which few others possess. An experience almost unique in its scope is his, and I would here venture to refer to one instance of it. The November, 1916, number of the *Royal Geographical Journal* contains a note recording the progress of the " Indo-Russian Triangulation Connection," which recalls to me certain memoirs of thirty-two years ago.

* Lecture by Sir T. H. Holdich before the Royal Society of Arts, on January 13, 1916.

When the Afghan Boundary Commission started in September, 1884, from Nushki on its march to the Helmand and across Sistan to Herat and the Murghab, the establishment of this " Connection " was a primary aim of the survey party accompanying it. That party consisted of Major T. H. Holdich, Captain St. George Gore, and Lieut. the Hon. M. G. Talbot, all of the Royal Engineers and Indian Survey. Turning back to the letters which I then wrote to the *Pioneer*, I find one dated November, 1884, and written from Lash-Juwain in Sistan, which says: "The officers of the Survey are busy, not only from sunrise to sunset—nay, even the falling shades of night bring them but a short respite; for no sooner has daylight closed the innings of the plane-table and the prismatic compass than the twinkle of the stars intimates that ' time is up,' and the innings of the theodolite commences; and the still night air is broken by solemn voices proclaiming mystic numbers and degrees which fall with comic meaninglessness on my unscientific ear. Since the unfortunate break in the chain of trigonometrical observations caused by the haziness of the atmosphere between Rudbar and Kalah-i-Fath (on the banks of the Helmand River), owing to which the connection with the Indian Triangulation system was unavoidably severed, a new system of triangulation on the basis of the traverse, which has been successfully carried through, has been established. Although the scheme of carrying the Indian system through has thus been thwarted, the importance of the results of this survey will suffer thereby little if any diminution."

More than thirty years have gone by since Major Holdich kindly explained to me the outlines of this perhaps the first attempt to connect the triangulations of India and Russia. From the report of the Pamir Boundary Commission of 1895, when Colonel Holdich was again at the head of the Survey operations, it does not appear that any special plan was made to connect the Indian and Russian Triangulations; but Major Wahab states on p. 48 of the Report that " a direct trigonometrical connection was made between

the station in the Mission Camp, on the borders of Lake Victoria, and the stations of the great Trigonometrical Survey, with only two intermediate steps." The *Geographical Journal* of November, 1916, pp. 418-19, quotes Colonel Lenox-Conyngham as paying a high tribute to the work done by the Pamirs Commission of 1895, and adds: " It must be noticed that although a connection has now been made between Indian and Russian triangulation, the Russian work is at present not connected with the general triangulation of the Russian Empire." This, I gather, explains why the Pamirs Report makes no express reference to this connection.

When Sir Thomas Holdich instanced " Frontiers " as a theme worthy of a " profound thinker and writer," for the moment it seemed to me that he had forgotten " Frontiers," the Romanes Lecture delivered on November 2, 1907, by the last President of the Royal Geographical Society, who was then, as now, the Chancellor of the University of Oxford. For some years before 1907 the situation in the Middle East had been acute. In January of 1902, just when the sanction of the Sultan was given to the Baghdad Railway concession awarded to a German syndicate, Mr. (now Sir) Joseph Walton initiated a notable debate in the House of Commons on Persia and the Persian Gulf. Most of those who took part in that debate gathered that same evening round the hospitable table of Mr. H. F. B. Lynch.

Between 1902 and 1907 a *volte-face* took place both in European and Middle Eastern politics, which led up to that entente, which is now one of the great forces claiming to guide the world's destinies. In these matters, as regards the East at any rate, no one was more fully behind the scenes than Lord Curzon of Kedleston. Small wonder that, after his Persian and Indian experience, he selected " Frontiers " as the theme of his Romanes Lecture, a lecture which exhibits the mental treasures and literary skill of one of the foremost scholars, travellers, statesmen, administrators, and thinkers of the day. More than nine years have passed since

its delivery. On p. 83 the Lecturer says: "The future of Persia and Afghanistan constitutes one of those problems on which speculation on an occasion like the present would be at once improper and unwise." We may equally feel to-day, after all that has happened since 1914, that speculation on the issue of the clash of arms and ambitions between the Powers already involved in war, not to mention those of neutrals who may be hereafter drawn in, is at present uncalled for and unprofitable. It is a subject none the less that insists on engaging our thoughts and, indeed, has already produced food for the printing-presses. But a truce, for the moment, to forecasts, which, in anticipation of the end, however remote, of a colossal war such as the present, rest on very hypothetical bases. It is the privilege of time to disconcert prophecy. Did anyone in 1900 foretell that Russia would in 1917 be a Republic, and the three Empires upon which she periodically encroaches—viz., China, Persia an Turkey—would within a decade have set up, or tried to set up, constitutional government? As 1916 drew to its close, did anyone dream that the Ottoman Empire's gift to Europe for the New Year of 1917 would be a repudiation of "its subordinate position under the collective guardianship of the Great Powers," and an assertion of its entry into "the group of European Powers, with all the rights and prerogatives of an independent Government"? One hundred and ten years ago Napoleon and Alexander I. of Russia, conferring together at Tilsit, treated Turkey as doomed. Stanley Lane-Poole's biography of Stratford Canning abounds in allusions to the moribund state of "The Sick Man." In March, 1832, Canning concludes a despatch to Lord Palmerston in these words: "The Turkish Empire is evidently hastening to its dissolution, and an approach to the civilization of Christendom affords the only chance of keeping it together for any length of time. That chance is a very precarious one at best, and should it unfortunately not be realized, the dismemberment that would ensue could hardly fail of disturbing the peace of Europe through a long series of years."

No man laboured more or did more to save Turkey than Stratford Canning, and of his forecast we may say, to save words, that time has dealt gently with it. The superb note sounded in the Ottoman Proclamation of the New Year of 1917, will be taken down several octaves by the end of this war, unless some unforeseen visitation of fortune wrecks the avowed determination of the Allies of the Entente. As regards the Balkans and Turkey, that determination is expressed with no ambiguity in the Allies' reply to President Wilson's " Peace " Note. One of the principles laid down by Mr. Lloyd George in his historic speech at Carnarvon on February 5, was that " the Turk is incapable of governing any other race justly, and even his own well." That verdict, we presume, means the ultimate removal of both Europe and Armenia, not to mention other portions which are now succumbing to British arms, from the limits of the Turkish Empire.

" It is a remarkable fact," says Lord Curzon,* " that, although frontiers are the chief anxiety of nearly every Foreign Office in the civilized world, and are the subject of four out of five political treaties and conventions that are now concluded, and though, as a branch of the service of Government, Frontier policy is of the first practical importance, and has a more profound effect upon the peace or warfare of nations than any other factor, political or economic, there is no work or treatise in any language, so far as I know, which treats of the subject as a whole." Such an authoritative pronouncement fully justifies the production of Sir Thomas Holdich's latest work, and the more so in that the volume is the fruit of an experience in the practical settlement of boundaries to which few living men can pretend.

The term " Boundary Settlement Officer " is very well known in India. Memory will not favour me with a clear recollection of the source whence I heard that the Government of India so highly appreciates boundary settlement

* Romanes Lecture, 1907, p. 4.

disputes between Native States as inexpensive schools for young Political Officers, that it rarely *insists* upon their final adjustment. The costs of settlement are, it should be noted, borne by the Native States. The Turco-Persian frontier, from the Persian Gulf to Mount Ararat, has so far failed of settlement from motives of, it is rumoured, a somewhat cognate character. On the part of Turkey and Persia there has been certainly no anxiety for definite settlement, and if Britain and Russia in 1913 were, as indeed they were, determined to have no further delay, I venture to think that the Baghdad Railway and the *Drang nach Osten* were important factors in clinching that determination. Under the title of "From the Gulf to Ararat" we are indebted to Mr. G. E. Hubbard for a well-written account of the work of this Anglo-Russian Commission, which in less than a year completed a task to which previous Commissions had devoted two or even three years, and then had not completed it. Lord Cromer's review of this book as "Frontier Making" in the *Spectator* of September 23, 1916, brings it into line with the theme of the work to which Sir Thomas Holdich has devoted his wide and long experience, and, in a measure, affords countenance to his contention that in a mountain line we find the nearest approach to the ideal frontier. This contention Sir Thomas has more recently elaborated and emphasized in an article in *The New Europe* (No. 17. February 8, 1917), in which he shows the value of the Pyrenees to Spain, the Alps to Italy, and the Tyrol to Austria, at the same time admitting that for the Alsace-Lorraine problem he can offer no satisfactory solution. From the days of the Medes and the Assyrians the range of mountains stretching from Ararat to the head of the Persian Gulf has constituted a natural boundary between nations and kingdoms.* And yet since the advent of the Turk in Mesopotamia, two hundred and eighty years ago, the precise frontier between Persia and Turkey had never, until quite re-

* For further information consult Mrs. Bishop's "Kurdistan" (John Murray, 1891), and Curzon's "Persia."

cently, been delimited. On the present occasion the British and Russian Commissioners were invested with full powers, which greatly accelerated the settlement. The completion of the work of demarcation coincided almost to a day with the outbreak of war between Turkey and the Allies. On the termination of this war the probabilities are that the frontier agreed upon in 1914 will have to be modified. Lord Cromer, in his review, makes a comment which may appropriately be quoted here: "The task which lay before Mr. Wratislaw and his colleagues was to divide a country between two nations of different racial and linguistic affinities, the Turks and the Persians, whilst in reality on ethnic grounds it belonged to a third nation, the Arabs, who spoke a different language from either, and came of another racial stock. In such circumstances it is no surprise to learn that the frontier which was actually adopted 'supplies instances of practically every principle of delimitation known to science.' It is sometimes geographical, at others racial, occasionally, 'roughly speaking, linguistic,' and when all these principles proved bankrupt, 'frankly artificial, following stated lines of longitude and latitude.' It will be seen, therefore, that the work of frontier-making is arduous."

Such is the verdict of a statesman and historian of very wide experience on the actual practical issue of the latest scientific effort to fix a frontier. So far from any one principle of delimitation vindicating its superiority, *all*—mountain, river, racial, linguistic, and "frankly artificial"—are called into play. Academic theory is scattered to the winds. Sir Thomas in his Introduction says: "The first and greatest object of a national frontier is to insure peace and goodwill between contiguous peoples by putting a *definite edge* to the national political horizon." (The italics are mine.) Surely the Great Power that has gone nearest to achieving such a national frontier must be the United States of America.

Human nature will have principles of its own, not always scientific, and certainly not always philanthropic. Cursed has been he from very early days who removes his neighbour's

landmark, and yet—he removes it. For the οἱ πολλοί, "fight for the right," as a mere abstract conception, is little more than a counsel of perfection, an admirable copybook headline; while "might is right" stands as a very practical and much practised motto. Said Prince Bismarck to Count Beust in 1871, apropos of Austria's designs on the Balkans and Constantinople: "It is impossible to conceive of a Great Power not making its faculty for expansion a vital question."* "Faculty for expansion" means, and has for many centuries meant, encroachment on a neighbour, be he civilized or barbarian. The very barbarism of the barbarian is the excuse for 'expanding' on to him, and oft leads the assailant into super-barbarous atrocities.

In *The Times* of February 6, Mr. Frederic Harrison has aptly quoted "Paradise Lost" to depict "the German Inferno." One attribute of the Kaiser he overlooked—his "cant." Lucifer was above it.

Both Lord Curzon of Kedleston and Sir Thomas Holdich are agreed that it is full time that the *magnum opus* on "Frontiers" were undertaken. It is difficult to conceive a more favourable time than the present. A Congress will assemble after the war and rearrange the boundaries of four at least out of five continents. There will be all the material amassed there that the intellect and industry of the profoundest thinker and writer can desire. His great work should be epoch-making and form an admirable companion on the shelf for Hugo Grotius's "De Jure Belli et Pacis."

* Prince von Bülow's "Imperial Germany," revised edition, 1916.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY EDUCATION: A PRACTICAL SCHEME FOR SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

By Lady Katharine Stuart

"After the War" is the time appointed of patriotic statesmen and of reformers of both sexes and all classes for a grand social reconstruction to be carried out by the people and for the people through the instrumentality of the best experts upon any given subjects that are to be found. Man and woman, capital and labour, Empire and Colony, alike look forward to *The Day*—not the day of destruction, of demolition, miscalculated upon by military despotism, but the day of Revival in matters spiritual and Reconstruction in things practical that will form the commencement of a new era in the history of humanity.

"After the War," then, is going to be "no day of small things": it will be a time when clear heads and warm hearts and the gift of plain-speaking, followed up by well-doing, will be the need of the nation as never before. As a man in whose industrial schemes the public may put confidence, we desire to draw attention to the work of Captain Petavel, who for many years past has given himself to the cause of constructive social reform, the study first of existing evils, such as overcrowding, lack of openings, lack of suitable implements, and unhealthy conditions of labour; and secondly of the remedy for all these evils. He has finally, after consultation with authorities in England and else-

where, decided that India offered him the best chance of success in his experiment; and after taking counsel with experienced landowners and social reformers such as Sir Rabindranath Tagore, he has definitely started what it is hoped may become a self-supporting educational colony, generously launched by the Maharajah of Cossimbazar.

Englishmen, upon the outbreak of this war, almost universally lamented that they had failed to listen to the counsel of Lord Roberts. It is not yet too late to do this, however. Lord Roberts gave Captain Petavel cordial approval and encouragement, as have also Lord Crewe, Lord Milner, and many great authorities in economics, while Professor Walker in the *Hibbert Journal* describes the Captain's book as " the most original, the most fascinating, and the most hope-inspiring book I have ever read on the social question." So much, then, for his sponsors; now for the man, his message and his mission.

He has first of all to point out, what is indeed self-evident to most of us nowadays, that our social and economic system is such that institutions such as workhouses, lunatic asylums, inebriate homes, and so forth, are for ever on the increase, testifying to thoughtful observers that our form of civilization undermines our health, impairs our reason, and atrophies our spiritual faculties. Women suffer even more than men under economic evils. A woman may toil all her life for a pittance and end her days on charity, but by this scheme all this is to be changed. The new era which we hope to see inaugurated will see in man more than an automatic machine for the manufacture of bombs, pinheads, or the seeds in raspberry jam, and in woman more than an anæmic victim of household drudgery. The agricultural, industrial labour colony, as described by Captain Petavel as tested in Switzerland, Holland, and India, will give everybody a chance—a chance of health, a chance of self-development, a chance of expressing himself or herself as one of the concepts of the Creator.

The originator of this educational " labour-colony " idea

evidently does not regard life as a sort of bran-pie in which any individual fishes up any sort of task at random. He conceives of the universe as a sublime order of things in which, as it has been well expressed, " Nature shows herself willing to make any man that which he desires to be; if, however, he evinces no desire and makes no effort, Nature assumes his wish to be a nobody and grants his prayer."

This planet was never intended to become such a man-made muddle; it is included in a Divine scheme in which every created being has an appointed part. The law of the universe is harmony, and within his breast every being carries sealed orders to correspond with what Nature gives him as an environment of outward circumstance. Everyone has his " dharma," his vocation, and therefore the first item on the programme of Captain Petavel and the Maharajah of Cossimbazar is, very rightly, *Organization*.

He begins with organizing the young into juvenile labour colonies for many reasons. In the first place, as George Eliot says, " It's but little good you do, watering the last year's crop "; and secondly, as the Irishman remarked, " *The best way to prevent what has happened is to stop it before it begins*," or, in other words, catch your boy before evil surroundings and bad companions have turned him into a criminal; catch your girl before lack of employment, unsuitable work, frustrated faculties, or underpayment, have turned her into an inebriate; catch your weak character before he becomes a mental case, and, having secured him as far as may be from temptation, allow him to grow and to unfold his faculties into the particular form of manhood his Creator intended him to become.

We think India a very suitable field for this kind of innovation, because the whole social structure of India is built up on the idea of " dharma "—" duty " or " vocation "; we really have no exact equivalent in our language for the term —and that not only of the individual, but also of the nation; for what is the Indian idea of a Messiah ?

" *Whenever the dharma decays and a-dharma prevails, then*

I manifest Myself. For the protection of the good and for the destruction of the evil; for the firm establishment of the

NATIONAL RIGHTEOUSNESS,

I am born again and again."

In India poverty is the great problem that has to be solved. The majority of children appear to suffer from malnutrition —some authorities say 78 per cent. A slum child in England was once given a meal by a kindly curate. He provided, as he thought, sufficient, not realizing that this child had been half-starved. Presently he looked up and saw an empty platter: "Have you finished? Then say your grace!" he commanded. "*Grace?* what was 'grace'?" Dim memories of something learnt at a mother's knee stirred in the child's brain. He arose, came and stood before the young man, and folded his hands:

"Please, sir, I *could* have eaten more; but I'm *very* thankful."

It would surely be an aim not unworthy even of a Missionary Society to change this plaintive note into a fervent and lively "*Thank God for good square meal,*" as two little Australians, trained by a father who had known hunger, never failed to do.

India suffers from the under-production of food per acre, and this less on account of lack of land than of suitable agricultural implements and machinery, and from the lack of combination between industrial and agricultural callings. This would be met by the labour colony.

According to Captain Petavel's scheme, children should in course of time—

1. Pay largely for their own education. This would mean instruction up to the age of twelve or fourteen; after which their labour would pay for the tuition. The schooling they receive should be technical as well as the three R's. In this way overstimulating the brain of the child would be avoided, and his body developed by suitable play and light work; thus—

2. Headwork should proceed in combination with the trade to be followed. This system, applied to youth and health, will surely work wonders, since it has been found to pay financially and morally even in the case *of "work-shies," tramps, and ne'er-do-weels*, who under the Swiss or Dutch system not only support themselves, but are able to put by and become independent farmers after leaving the labour colony. We hope we may yet live to see all gaols and prisons run in the spirit that believes "New actions are the only apologies and explanations of old ones that the noble can bear to offer or receive," and not in the spirit that would destroy body and soul alike by confinement and vindictive severity.

Tagore, who has been extraordinarily successful in dealing with high-spirited youth on similar lines, was once asked for his secret. He replied: "I make them happy."

How wise, and how like a poet! It is said the Arabs guide their horses by a whisper. The young Indian, like some high-spirited thoroughbred, feels within himself boundless possibilities of achievement, and the wise sportsman will give him his head, trusting to his native good sense to his allowing himself to be guided by the voice and hand of real love and pride to sure victory in the contests of the world.

Though never having had experience of a *juvenile* labour colony, the writer has had some little acquaintance with community-life based on the principle of co-operation instead of competition. The community was not entirely self-supporting—though it could readily have become so:—it adopted the idea of "production for use," and it had the corporate life of a family that engaged in every sort of work, from the production of spineless cactus, as fodder for cattle in famine time, to the editing and printing of papers and magazines of all kinds. The "family spirit," where the Editor, the Librarian, the Gardener, the Dairyman, the Engineer, the Printer, the Publisher, the Author, the Lawyer, the Schoolmaster, the Doctor, the Nurse, etc., all met in a family circle night after night to be taught and to discuss anything and everything in the nature of perplexing problems, was an

education in itself. The instruction we thus obtained, not only from those in authority, but from one another, was, we believed, unique and priceless in value. If you wanted an expert on Sanscrit, on art, on music, on law, on farming, or on medical matters, there was always one available. There were not many laws, but alcohol, meat-eating and card-playing for money were forbidden, and slackers were not encouraged to remain. The output in work of all kinds in this community was astounding!

In conclusion, we cordially commend Captain Petavel and his generous supporter, the Maharajah of Cossimbazar, to the sympathy and practical support, first, of the ruling powers in India as a safety-valve for Indian unrest—only another name for frustrated faculties; secondly, of the missionaries, who might thus live over again certain chapters in the Acts of those Apostles who studied with profit the poets of other peoples; thirdly, of Mrs. Besant, and through her the Theosophical Educational Trust; and lastly, of the generous public, Indian and English, who can thus unite to make the man of to-morrow the pride of both.

And we suggest that this support should not be merely financial. Captain Petavel deserves more of his countrymen than that: he deserves not only money—which the Maharajah of Cossimbazar is so liberally providing to begin with—but men to follow in his footsteps and those of Mr. Andrews and of his master, Tagore, who has "given *himself* to the world."

Everywhere indeed, but nowhere quite so much as in India, it is the *personal equation* that counts for success in any given enterprise. In this scheme it is particularly evident that all must depend upon the application of the principles to practice. In ruling a labour colony even more than in ruling a nation—

> "For forms of government let fools contest;
> Whatever's best administered is best."

The thing to be secured is good *administration*. This involves the employment of men and women of sterling

character and religious enthusiasm. There is a certain impatience of religion nowadays and a tendency to substitute for it a code of ethics. This, in our opinion, would be fatal. In Young England and Young India the poet has not yet died—we may thank Heaven,—and Democracy, speaking through her great prophet Whitman, asserts positively: "I say that the real and permanent grandeur of these States must be their religion; otherwise there can be no real and permanent grandeur."

If we sincerely desire to see "Paradise Regained," let us not deceive ourselves into imagining that vast sums of money are needed to buy it. "Paradise," it has been shrewdly observed, "is quite cheap; it's only hell that is so expensive," involving as it does millions wasted upon luxuries. Paradise is not only cheap, but quite simple. It is to dwell together in unity, fellowship—no more than that. The secret lies in the word *together*, for woman alone has ruled the planet, and it has ended in woe and wickedness; and man alone has tried to rule it, and brought it to unparalleled disaster. Now at last it is dawning upon them both that the Creator intended them to do it *together*.

"Heaven lies about the feet of mothers," said the Prophet Muhammad. Let us call the Indian woman from her purdah and the Anglo-Indian woman from her social preoccupations to come and give *themselves* to the world; for, as Christ put it, "The kingdom of God is within *you*." Let us call upon them to make earth so sweet that the very angels in heaven cannot resist its tempting fragrance. And if each in her secret soul believes her religion to be the best, what matter? Let her demonstrate her conviction by surpassing all the rest in tenderness and patience, and they will believe her! And when the Christian or the Muhammadan can say of the Hindu, "who touches *my brother* touches *Tavannes*," and when the Brahmin lady can say of the Punchama schoolgirl, "who touches *my little sister* touches *myself*," then exit the spirit of intolerance and enter the *family* spirit, and with it the moral certainty that the founda-

tions of the new era will be well and truly laid upon those two glorious and incontrovertible facts—the immanence of God and the solidarity of man.

NOTE.—The excellent educational programme put forward by Mr. Fisher is a great advance in the right direction. The scheme indicated above has this advantage: it holds out hopes of *economy* in education. Emerson accused England of being responsible for the "despotism of expense." One reason for the low birth-rate is the tremendous cost of education. This applies especially to the upper classes.

The names appended to the following statement are sufficient to show the general approval with which the scheme has been received in Calcutta.

"The Honble. the Maharajah of Cossimbazar, K.C.I.E., convened a meeting at his Rajbâri of Principals of Colleges to consider the matter, and has generously decided to finance a school as advocated by the association, Captain Petavel himself acting as principal. Lord Crewe (then Secretary of State for India), the High Commissioner for Australia, the Ministers of Education of the Dominion of Canada and of the Union of South Africa and Lord Milner, subsequently asked to be kept informed of the progress of the work. The undersigned hope the ruling chiefs, noblemen, leaders of communities, and the public generally, will combine to make this first step towards an educational development in which such general interest has been shown a success. The one and only way to make it succeed is to show pupils good prospects of earning a living. This will be done if the Indian Polytechnic Association is heartily supported by public-spirited people of means.

"W. C. WORDSWORTH, Principal, Presidency College.
"G. C. BOSE, Principal, Bangobasi College.
"W. S. URQUHART, Principal, Scottish Churches College.
"The PRINCIPAL of St. Xavier's College.
"H. DE MAITRA, Principal, City College.
"P. C. RAY, Principal, College of Science.
"W. A. HOLLAND, Principal, St. Paul's Cathedral College.
"R. NIVEDI, Principal, Ripon College.
"S. RAY, Principal, Metropolitan College.
"K. R. BOSE, Principal, Central College of the University of Calcutta."



THE JUBILEE OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

(FOUNDED 1866)

CHAPTER IV

At the opening Session of the year 1884-1885, the Association had to record the deaths of its (retired) second President, the Rt. Hon. Sir Lawrence Peel, and of Colonel Anthony Blake Rathbone, for many years an active member of Council of the Association and latterly one of its Vice-Presidents.

Sir Lawrence Peel, a cousin of the late Sir Robert Peel, was born in 1799, graduated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and was called to the bar of the Middle Temple in 1824. He went out to Calcutta as Advocate-General of Bengal, and became Chief Justice of the Calcutta Supreme Court in 1842. He retired in 1855, and became one of the Directors of the East India Company in 1857, Treasurer of the Middle Temple in 1866, and a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1871.

Colonel Rathbone belonged to the 24th Bombay N.I., and was, besides, a Barrister of the Middle Temple. He took part in the battles of Miani and Hyderabad, and after the annexation of Sind was made Magistrate and Collector of the whole of the new territory on the left bank of the Indus. In 1853 Colonel Rathbone retired from the Service, and, on his arrival home, Lord Ellenborough wrote as follows:

"I very much regret that any circumstances should have led to your resigning your appointment in Scinde, where I

know from Sir Charles Napier that your services have been of general advantage to the country."

On Thursday, November 6, 1884, His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin received at Brown's Hotel, Dover Street, a deputation from the Association, which presented the following Memorial:

"My Lord,

"The East India Association, a body perfectly free from party bias, and including members of every shade of political opinion, having for their sole object the promotion of the welfare of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in India, by inducing full and impartial discussion of every question connected with the advancement of the prosperity of our Eastern Empire, in desiring to offer their sincere congratulations upon your appointment to the office of Viceroy and Governor-General, as opening a wide field for the further display of those high qualities for which, in the discharge of the varied and important duties with which you have hitherto been entrusted, your Lordship has been pre-eminently distinguished, would at the same time beg to take the opportunity of bringing under your consideration the following subjects, which, among others, have recently engaged their attention.

"(1) The extension of the railway system and the construction of works of irrigation and inland navigation with a view not only to prevent a recurrence of the severe famines by which large provinces have been desolated, and millions of our fellow-subjects have perished, but also to enable India to enter upon a fair footing into competition with other countries for the supply of many of the staple commodities of which her soil and climate permit the bountiful production.

"(2) The abolition of the duty on gold and silver plate and the general encouragement of native manufactures.

"(3) The removal of race antagonism by the promotion of social intercourse between Europeans and natives, and

the diffusion of information as to the mutual advantages to be derived from the connection between Great Britain and her Asiatic Empire.

" (4) The formation of agricultural banks.

" (5) The general introduction of the principles of municipal government.

" (6) The position of the poorer members of the European and Eurasian community and the disadvantages under which they labour in procuring employment.

" (7) The conditions under which admission to the Covenanted and Statutory Civil Service is obtained.

" (8) The organization of the Native Army and the expediency of offering suitable openings for advancement to native officers.

" The Association venture to hope that you may be pleased to allow copies of their papers to be from time to time transmitted for your perusal, and in conclusion would express an earnest wish that, in the execution of the weighty task you have now undertaken, your labours may be crowned with complete success.

" I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient servant,
" ORFEUR CAVANAGH
(*Chairman*).

" On behalf of the Council of the East India Association, November 3, 1884."

His Excellency assured the deputation that he would give early and careful attention to the various subjects and points raised in the Memorial.

In the following year a similar Memorial was addressed to the Rt. Hon. Baron Reay, Governor-Designate of the Bombay Presidency.

In the course of this address the economic condition of the peasantry of Western India was specially pressed on his Lordship's attention, and it was pointed out that the sad loss of life from drought which occurred in the Deccan in

1877-1879 was only a severe manifestation of the chronic poverty of the cultivators, that had been previously demonstrated by the disturbances amongst the ryots in 1875, and fully described in the Report of the Commission that investigated those occurrences. The address continued:

"The attention of our Association has been directed to this subject, and to the proposed means of relieving the pressure of pecuniary distress amongst the ryots, by the establishment of agricultural banks, and we beg leave to forward the report of a meeting when proposals to this effect were formulated by Sir William Wedderburn, a member of the Bombay Civil Service. These proposals were so far adopted, both by the Bombay and Supreme Governments, that it had been determined that the experiment of an agricultural bank should be fairly tried in one of the Deccan districts. Recently, however, we have been informed that the Indian Council has delayed or forbidden the carrying out of this moderate and tentative measure, so that, even before your departure from England, your Lordship might perhaps have it in your power to exert your influence towards obtaining the reconsideration of that adverse decision. We feel the more emboldened to urge this because we are well aware that your Lordship must have observed the working on the continent of various plans for providing systematic financial aid to the agricultural community.

"Closely allied to this subject is that of promoting the revival or introduction of indigenous mechanical arts, so that the masses of the people may not, as now, be almost entirely dependent on agriculture and its attendant precarious labour. On the occasion of Sir Evelyn Baring's departure from Bombay, the branch of our Association, in the address presented to him as retiring Finance Minister, laid great stress on the valuable service in furtherance of the foregoing object rendered by the Government, of which he had been a member, in directing that all stores for the use of the several departments of the State that could be purchased in India as cheaply, or nearly so, as through the

India Office in England should be so obtained. Various powerful interests in this country, as well as in the presidency towns of India, are opposed to this policy, but we trust that, with the view of raising the standard of industrial efficiency in India, your Lordship will use your efforts to give to local trade and industry such countenance and encouragement as is implied by the bestowal of this legitimate measure of State patronage and support.

"There is one special movement in this direction in Bombay itself on behalf of which we may with confidence solicit your Lordship's active co-operation. In commemoration of the Marquis of Ripon's Viceroyalty, the people of Bombay and Western India generally have resolved to found a well-organized school of Technical Industries. This intelligent effort to supply by voluntary association one of the now peculiarly pressing requirements in the Indian economic and social system cannot fail to claim your Lordship's approval, and, we trust, effective individual counsel and aid.

"Your Lordship has probably already followed to some extent the thorough investigation which the subject of public instruction received two years ago in every province of India at the hands of the Special Commission, under the presidency of Dr. W. W. Hunter, Director-General of Statistics. No one, we venture to submit, can be more qualified than your Lordship for exercising a sound judgment as to the conclusions arrived at as the result of this exhaustive inquiry. With the restricted funds at the command of Indian administrators, it is not easy to satisfy the claims both of primary and collegiate education, but we feel sure that no one can discriminate better than your Lordship between the relative value of both, and that under your administration the cause of public instruction in the Bombay Presidency may be expected to show new and extensive development."

In reply to this Memorial Lord Reay assured the Council that in his examination of the subjects mentioned he would

always be ready " to take into impartial consideration the suggestions of those whose experience and knowledge of the interests of the people entitled them to an attentive hearing on the best mode of promoting the welfare of Her Majesty's subjects in India."

On accepting the office of President for the fourth time, Sir Richard Temple said he believed that the Association was performing a very useful function of giving scope to free independent and impartial opinions regarding current affairs in India, of encouraging any gentleman who had anything to say that was really worth saying, and was supported by facts and statistics, and by reasonable and cogent arguments, to come forward and test them in public discussion. He was convinced that by giving this scope to individuals who sought it, they were most likely to help in forming public opinion amongst those sections of the British public who ultimately direct the course of affairs in India, and most likely to afford a stimulus to thought and to make people take an interest in the progress of India and its people.

During the year the subjects of " Self-Government in India," " The Mutual advantages of the connection between England and the Indian Empire," and " The Costliness of Indian administration," were discussed. In the course of the discussion on the latter subject the salaries paid to Indian civilians were considered, and the chairman, Mr. Donald Macfarlane, M.P., declared he agreed with Sir Orfeur Cavanagh in holding that where Indians were placed in the same position as Europeans, upon the same system and scale of education, they were fully and properly entitled to the same salaries.

" In fact," he said, " Indians are paying themselves, we are not paying; and if any objection is to be taken to the payment of native officials, that objection should come from the Indians, and not from us, because they are the pay-masters."

As to the pensions of £1,000 a year drawn by Indian civil servants (after twenty-five years' service), it was taken as

proved that these pensions were half made up of their own subscriptions, deducted from salary during these twenty-five years; and as to the general expenses of Administration, Archdeacon Baly pointed out that in the Island of Ceylon (which contained only the population of a single District in Bengal—Chapra, for instance) the Governor draws £7,000 a year, the Commander-in-Chief £2,000, the Chief Justice £2,000 a year, the Puisne Judges £800 a year each, five Government Agents from £1,500 to £1,800 a year each, and so on, in comparison with the 2,500 rupees paid to a Magistrate and Collector for the administration of a whole District containing the same or greater population. "Such," he said, "was the staff considered necessary by the Colonial Office to govern Ceylon, with a population at that time of one and three-quarter millions."

During the year 1885-1886, in addition to holding five public meetings for the discussion of various subjects of importance to India, and other ordinary business, the Council issued the following circular to all Members of both Houses of Parliament:

"I am directed by the Council of this Association, a body free from political bias, and including members of various shades of opinion, to request your consideration of the fact that India possesses no representative assembly of its own, and that the duty of supervising and controlling the administration of its affairs consequently devolves upon the British Houses of Parliament.

"It is felt that at the present time there is a general desire that the aspirations and wants of India should be carefully considered and, as far as may be practicable, every reasonable cause for dissatisfaction removed, so as to secure the contentment and prosperity of its people and thus deepen and strengthen their loyalty and attachment to British rule.

"The Council therefore venture to express a hope that you may be induced to give your attention and support to such measures as may be brought under discussion having in view any of the following objects:

" 1. The due protection of the frontier, so as to insure the preservation of the blessings of peace.

" 2. The larger employment in the public services of the inhabitants of India, irrespective of race or creed.

" 3. The revival and encouragement of indigenous trades and industries.

" 4. The further development of the system of Local Self-Government.

" 5. The extension of Elementary Education.

" 6. The improvement of the condition of the rural population, and their relief from their present crushing load of indebtedness, by the introduction of a system of agricultural State banks, or other suitable means.

" 7. The development of the resources of the country by means of public works, more especially those needed for the purpose of irrigation and providing an efficient water-supply.

" 8. The constitution of the Indian Legislative Councils on a wider basis.

" 9. The exercise of a watchful supervision over the home charges of the Secretary of State for India, including the adjustment of military accounts between the British and the Indian exchequers.

" The Council would most urgently press on you to support Lord Randolph Churchill's proposal for an early and exhaustive Parliament inquiry into the affairs of India.

" I am, in conclusion, desired to state that, should you require any information or assistance in the execution of that portion of your Parliamentary duties which relates to India, the Council will have great pleasure in affording you every aid in its power by giving access to its library or reference books, or referring you to past volumes of the *Journals* of the Association, many of which contain valuable information regarding Indian affairs."

The proper site for a new Capital of India was a subject discussed, under the Presidency of General Sir Orfeur Cavanagh, K.C.S.I., in a paper read by Sir George Campbell, K.C.S.I., M.P.

Sir George pointed out that if the Capital of India were to be selected, no one would propose to put it where Calcutta now stands, and that to all intents and purposes Calcutta has ceased to be the capital. He declared "that a site must be *selected*," as in the case of Washington, and he suggested that a medium climate—a sort of compromise, so as to make a common meeting-place for Europeans and Indians—was offered in the central tracts between the Bombay coasts and the Jumna. He suggested Nassick or Saugor; but, in every case, he urged that the great unsettlement and state of drift and expense attending the present peripatetic uncertainty should be terminated and a Capital definitely selected where the Government of India would be brought into contact with the native races and where European and Oriental could meet on equal terms. It was pointed out that in 1871 Lord Mayo had said to Mr. James Long that in Calcutta His Excellency "felt like a frog in a well," judging the heavens from a very narrow point of view, and that his object in going out hunting and shooting every Saturday was "to get some knowledge of the people and the country."

Lord Stanley of Alderley, who closed the debate on Sir George Campbell's paper, said he entirely disagreed with several gentlemen who had spoken in favour of Simla. He thought that that pleasant Hill Station ought to be relegated to what it ought never to have exceeded—that is, a sanatorium for really sick people, and that the Governor-General and Council ought to be kept out of it as much as out of the Vale of Cashmere.

The Association's activities also included the consideration of a paper by Mr. J. S. Jeans (author of "England's Supremacy") on "The Development of India," the Rt. Hon. the Earl Granville occupying the chair.

In his elaborate address Mr. Jeans argued that the curtailment of expenditure on the construction of new railways in India was little short of a national disaster, and he showed that there was great and urgent reason for calling upon

Government to proceed with the immediate construction of much larger annual mileage of railways in India.

The "Commercial Products of Assam" were also discussed in a paper advocating the commercial development of that Province, read by Mr. Oswin Weynton.

During the year the Association had to deplore the death of one of its oldest and most devoted Vice-Presidents, Sir Charles Trevelyan.

Sir Charles was born in 1807, educated at Charterhouse and Haileybury College, entered the East India Company's Service, and rose to be Finance Minister. In 1834 he married at Calcutta a sister of Lord Macaulay (then "plain Mister"). He quitted India in 1840, was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Treasury, and rendered such eminent services during the Irish famine of 1848 that he was made a K.C.B. and created a Baronet in 1874.

It was mainly owing to his zeal and perseverance that the Civil Service was thrown open to Public Competition.

In 1859 he went out again to India as Governor of Madras, but was recalled the following year because he published a protest against the financial measures of Mr. Wilson, then Finance Minister. But Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State for India, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government recorded "their high appreciation of his services" and the conviction that "no servant of the Crown had more earnestly endeavoured to carry out the great principles of government which were promulgated to the Princes and peoples of India in Her Majesty's gracious proclamation."

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN INDIA

By Miss M. Ashworth

From earliest historic times the people of India have enjoyed a reputation for education and culture, and the women shared in that education and culture. In the early Vedic times they apparently enjoyed an equal status with men, and they inherited and possessed property. They took part in the sacrifices and religious duties. Viswavara composed sacred hymns. In the early Epic period, we are told that Garga Vachakuavia took an active part in the assembly of learned men summoned by Janaka, King of the Videhas, to decide which of them would prove the wisest. There is an account of a conversation between Yagnavalkya and his wife Maitreyi on the possible comprehension of the infinite in the finite. In the poem Bhagwan Manu, a punishment is prescribed for parents who keep away from school boys after five and girls after ten years of age. Megasthenes relates that literature and philosophy were studied by women of the nationalistic period.

From the fifth century B.C., however, we find limiting laws in the Hindu Codes, and these are embodied in the Code of Manu, A.D. 200. Girls were excluded from the initiatory caste rites which preceded the education of boys. "For women no sacred rite is performed with sacred texts; thus the law is settled; women who are destitute of strength and destitute of knowledge of the Vedic texts are as impure as

falsehood itself" (Manu, ix. 18). There is abundant evidence, however, that in spite of these restrictions many women of the upper classes could read and write, and we know that they read and committed to memory the great epics the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. In one of the dramas of Kalidasa about the fifth century, one of the characters says that he must always laugh when he hears a woman read Sanscrit or a man sing a song, which would indicate not only that the women of his day did read Sanscrit, but also that the tendency of the men to scoff at learned women is no new development.

The Muhammadan conquest brought with it the purdah system, and women, forced into the seclusion of the zenana, were no longer able to share in the culture of their men. This cloud of ignorance and darkness enveloped them for seven centuries, and all trace of their previous happier state seemed to disappear. But from behind the purdah women's influence still made itself felt; kingdoms were governed and dynasties were overthrown, and still the legends of Puranas and the Epics were studied. In the upper classes women were often required to undertake the supervision and management of large estates during the minority of their owners; the women of the lower classes assisted their husbands in their work or business, and the keeping of accounts was in some cases the task of the chief woman of the family. It was in the middle classes that the ignorance of women was most complete.

With the coming of the British we get the Renaissance of women's education in India. The East India Company found themselves faced by urgent educational problems. The gradual dropping of the old exotic court language of Persia and the substitution of the vernaculars as a medium of instruction was the first important change. Then followed the long and bitter controversy between the Anglicists and the Orientalists, which was finally closed in 1839 in the favour of the former by Lord Macaulay's famous minute. Thus engrossed in important measures affecting general

education, the Company did not turn their attention to the education of girls for some considerable time. However, this was not entirely neglected; for missionary and other philanthropic bodies were tentatively approaching the problem. At first the work was very slow, and the pioneers soon found themselves faced with these three great obstacles which are still quoted in every report on female education in India: First, the difficulty of obtaining women of suitable social position and education as teachers; secondly, the social custom in regard to child marriage and the seclusion of women which curtails the school life of girls; and, thirdly, the absence of that stimulus created by the necessity of education as a means of livelihood which is so potent in the case of boys. In 1823 missionary schools were organized in Calcutta by Miss Cook, who in 1840 records 500 girls at school in Bengal. In 1849 an institution for the education of girls was established in Calcutta under the name of The Hindu Female School by Mr. Drinkwater Bethune, then legal Member of Council. It began with twenty-three pupils, and was for some time maintained at the entire cost of Mr. Bethune, who also left by his will lands and other property to endow it in perpetuity. On his death in 1851, the school was taken over by Lord Dalhousie, and the charge was afterwards transferred to Government as the Bethune Girls' School. The school exists to-day as the Bethune College, and is affiliated to the Calcutta University.

In Bombay the American Missionary Society were the pioneers with their school for girls opened in 1824. By 1829 there were 400 girls in their schools. The Scottish Missionary Society followed shortly afterwards, and by 1840 Dr. Wilson had opened five schools for the education of the daughters of the higher classes of Hindus in the neighbourhood of Poona. The Church Missionary Society established their first girls' school in 1826. In 1851 an endowment fund of Rs.20,000 was created by Mr. Maganbhai Karamchand of Ahmedabad for the foundation of two girls' schools in that city, and in the same year Mr. Joti Govindrao Phule

opened a school at Poona. One of the most interesting developments in the history of girls' education in Bombay was the outcome of the Elphinstone College Students' Literary and Scientific Society, founded, I believe, by Professor Patton of Elphinstone College. As a result of the discussions of this society, and under the leadership of Mr, Dadabhai Naoroji and others, four girls' schools were established in 1849 in Bombay. These schools, in which the teaching was done mainly by college students in their leisure time, are still in existence, and one of the most efficient secondary schools for girls in Bombay is to-day managed by this society. In Madras from an early period boarding-schools were maintained by the Church of England Mission at Tinnevelly, but these were attended exclusively by Christian converts. The Scottish Mission here were the first to teach Hindu girls of the higher castes in a school opened in 1841. In 1854 there were 7,000 girls at missionary schools, of whom the Scottish school had 700.

This first period of tentative beginnings in girls' education is brought to a close by the famous Educational Despatch addressed by the Court of Directors to the Government of India in 1854. In this historical document, the charter of Indian education, which is attributed to John Stuart Mill, great stress is laid on the importance of female education. "The importance of female education in India cannot be overrated, and we have observed with pleasure the evidence which is now afforded of an increased desire on the part of many of the natives of India to give a good education to their daughters. By this means a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men. We cannot refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with the efforts that are being made in this direction. The Government ought to give to female education in India its frank and cordial support." The later Despatch of 1859 repeated these expressions of sympathy, but recognized the difficulty of attempting rapid strides and the risk of exercising official

pressure in a matter which they regarded as of extreme delicacy. The result of the Despatch of 1854 was encouragement on the part of Government of private effort by a system of grants-in-aid, but whereas boys' schools were erected all over the country and other vigorous measures were taken to forward their education, but few girls' schools were founded by Government; and in the Bengal Administrative Report of 1881, only two Government primary schools for girls are noted, against 719 aided and 107 unaided voluntary schools.

About this time a strong impulse was given to female education by Miss Mary Carpenter. She visited India several times during the years 1867-1877, and made a special study of female education there; she then sent in to Government a report of her investigations, and made certain recommendations. In 1867 she secured a grant of £15,000 per annum for five years on condition that an equal amount was subscribed by the native community, for the establishment of Normal Schools for women teachers at Bombay and Ahmedabad. These two schools are in a flourishing state to-day, and are the mainstay of girls' primary education in the Bombay Presidency. In 1870 two important schools, which have since developed into university colleges, were established by missionaries—the Isabella Thorburn School at Lucknow and the Sara Tucker School at Palamcottah.

The Educational Commission of 1882 under Sir William Hunter showed how little had been done for the education of girls as compared with that of boys, and made recommendations that girls' schools should receive special encouragement and liberality; and the Commission of 1900 again recommended that girls' schools should receive liberal grants, and that fees should not be rigorously enforced. As a result of these recommendations, the outlay on girls' education has been considerably increased, and a number of inspectresses have been recruited into the Indian educational service from England. A certain amount of progress has been made, but it is very slow, and, speaking generally,

women's education in India remains in a very backward state.

Applying the test of statistics, we find that of the girls of school-going age in the whole of India, the following percentage was at school: In 1886, 1·6 per cent.; in 1896, 2·1 per cent.; in 1901, 2·2 per cent.; in 1907, 3·6 per cent.; and in 1912, 5·1 per cent. The provinces vary considerably: Burmah leads with 8·14 per cent., then comes Bombay with 5·9 per cent., Madras with 5·7 per cent., Bengal with 3·2 per cent., the Punjaub with 2·6 per cent., and, lowest of all, the United Provinces with 1·2 per cent. But taking the last quinquennium, from 1907-1912, we find the ratio of progress most marked in the United Provinces, where the increase was 92·6 per cent.; next, Bengal, with an increase of 78·6 per cent.; Madras, 26 per cent.; whilst Bombay can only show an increase of 16·8 per cent. These figures represent mainly the state of primary education; and as regards the more advanced provinces of Bombay and Madras, the rate of increase is disappointing. When we come to secondary education, however, we find in these same provinces a very marked advance, particularly in Bombay. In 1912 in all India there were 66 high schools for girls with 9,045 pupils, against 44 schools and 4,945 pupils in 1907; the numbers have therefore nearly doubled, and almost half of the girls attending high schools in all India are in Bombay. The rapid progress here is shown in the two Government high schools, where during the year 1914-15 the numbers on the rolls increased from 130 to 170 at Ahmedabad, and from 266 to 320 at Poona. This progress is remarkable, for whereas primary education has been carefully fostered by Government, secondary education is left almost entirely to private initiative. In all India there are only five high schools for girls under Government management; the rest are mainly under the control of missionaries, except in the city of Bombay, where there are no less than eight under Indian management.

This growing impetus is not confined to schools.

University education is making very rapid strides, and a strong desire for better facilities is making itself felt. The number of women under collegiate instruction in 1912 was 369, and the number of special colleges for women was 5—the Bethune College, the Diocesan College and Loreto House in Calcutta, the Sara Tucker College at Palamcottah, and the Isabella Thorburn College at Lucknow. Since 1912 two new colleges have been founded for women—one in Madras, and the new Medical College at Delhi. The Queen Mary College at Lahore has not yet reached university standard. In Bombay, where the demand for women's university education is most insistent, there is no special college for women, and would-be graduates are obliged to attend lectures at men's colleges. In spite of the absence of any special provision for them, women are crowding into the class-rooms of the Elphinstone, Grant Medical, St. Xavier, and Wilson Colleges. In 1912 there were seventy-six women in Bombay attending colleges for men, to the embarrassment of some of the authorities.* Principal Covernton of Elphinstone College, in his report for the year 1909-10, writes: "It is becoming a problem how to provide accommodation and adequate supervision for these girls. It is ridiculous to expect that young unmarried graduates, fresh from Oxford and Cambridge, can mould the minds and characters of Parsi, much less of Brahman, girls. . . . The close association of male and female involved in a mixed education is so totally opposed to the traditions of the East, as well as so fraught with possibilities of evil, that in my opinion the system is rather a barrier than an encouragement to female education. That the number of girl undergraduates is increasing is a sign that even this is not sufficient to check the demand for a university education for women. If the conditions of that education were in accord with Oriental ideas of women's functions, the numbers would go up by leaps and bounds. I am confident that the

* The number of women reading for degrees in the Bombay colleges at present is 140.

time is ripe for the creation of a women's college in Bombay."

Very recently a new and interesting experiment has been tried by Professor Karvé of Fergusson College, Poona, who has started a women's university modelled on the Women's University at Tokyo. His aim is to make provision for the higher education of women, with an Indian vernacular as the medium of instruction; to formulate courses specially suited to the needs of women; and to make provision for the training of vernacular teachers. It is too early to form any opinion on this new departure. The success of the Tokyo Women's University is due to the strong national character of the education given, and if on similar lines Professor Karvé can command the support he deserves, we may look to this new university to solve the main problems of women's education to-day—the provision of suitable women teachers for vernacular schools, and the formulation of a curriculum adapted to the requirements of Indian girls.

The strong and growing demand for higher education, existing as it does side by side with apathy, if not actual hostility, on the part of the people to the primary education for girls, has given ground for some anxiety. It is felt that the real need of India is a general raising of all her women rather than the high culture of the few, and consequently there is a tendency to discourage this demand for college education until primary education shall be firmly established. This is, I think, a great mistake. The claims of primary education are certainly prior to those of university careers for women, but the interests of these two branches of education are not necessarily divergent; on the contrary, they are mutually dependent.

In dealing with the individual child, educationists now recognize that the function of the teacher is to follow rather than to lead. The healthy young mind has an intuitive knowledge of its own needs, and the educator can best accomplish his task by supplying the needs as they manifest themselves and removing obstacles which would check

natural, spontaneous growth. May not this principle be applied equally to the education of a people? For the last three decades we have been attempting to popularize free primary education of girls in India, with little success; secondary education, on the other hand, with little official encouragement, and in spite of high fees, has forced a way for itself and is developing rapidly. What is the meaning of these apparently conflicting phenomena?

When we say that primary education does not progress, we must distinguish. In the large cities, where we have fairly good schools staffed with trained teachers, a demand has been created for girls' primary education, and the regular attendance of little girls at school is becoming established as a habit. But this is far from being the case in the villages, which really constitute India. The little village girl of school-going age is a shrewd little person. Her work in the home and in the fields gives her a certain economic value, of which she is fully aware, and she hesitates to sacrifice her time and liberty until she sees it is worth her while. When discussing the question of attending school with these girls, inquiries as to terms do not take the usual form, "What are the fees?" but, "What will you pay me if I come to school?" They are, however, quick to recognize value, and in the rare cases where a village school is in charge of a qualified woman of strong personality, there is no difficulty in filling it with pupils. The obstacle to progress is to-day what it always has been—the want of suitable teachers. The training colleges are turning out yearly a large though insufficient supply of trained teachers; but, unfortunately, these women are drawn almost exclusively from the lower classes, and whatever their professional qualifications may be, they are unable to hold their own socially, and to command the respect which is essential to a successful teacher. The personality of the teacher is the all-important factor in education, and until we can provide Indian primary schools with good teachers, we cannot expect them to be popular: the un-

popularity of the present village schools is not altogether to be deplored.

For the solution of the problem of the teacher, I look to the girls who are to-day pressing into the high schools and colleges. It is true that at present these girls have no intention of preparing for a teaching career, at least in primary schools; their object is simply self-development. But when their college career is over they will not be content to lead the idle existence of the women of the past; they will feel the need of a sphere of useful ess and influence outside the home, and, under the wise guidance of college teachers, they could be made to realize their responsibility in this matter. If the young men students in the seventies could establish and teach in those girls' schools in Bombay, it should be possible to rouse a sense of duty in the women students of to-day. For the future of the education of Indian women rests with the educated women of India, and the problem of the school curriculum will never be solved until highly trained women educationists can bring their minds to bear upon it.

I would therefore strongly urge the desirability of meeting this demand for higher education freely and generously by establishing model high schools and colleges for women which will rank with those already provided for boys and staffed with teachers of equal academic status. These schools and colleges should be staffed as far as possible by Indian women graduates recruited into the educational service under the same conditions as men. The creation of these well-paid appointments will have the effect of directing attention to education as a profession, and a new interest will be roused in pedagogics. In the province of primary education there is abundant scope for Indian girl graduates as Inspectresses of Schools and Lecturers in Training Colleges for vernacular teachers. We may, I think, safely assume that Indian girls of good social class will offer themselves for these appointments, and their example may encourage other girls of the higher castes to

enter the teaching profession. We may thus hope to draw into the vernacular training colleges the kind of women who can be trained into real Educators who will win the confidence of Indian parents. When by increasing the quantity and improving the quality of trained vernacular teachers we have gained the confidence of Indian men and women, and not till then, we may begin to consider the question of compulsory primary education for girls.

The present time is a critical one in the history of Indian womanhood. The new impulse which shows itself in the demand for higher education is strong, and even if it were desirable it cannot be suppressed. It is charged with great possibilities for good or for evil, and it is imperative that no opportunity should be lost to influence it for good.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, March 26, 1917, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, at which a paper was read by Miss M. Ashworth, entitled " The Education of Women in India."

Sir Frederick Lely (in the absence of the Rt. Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.), occupied the chair.

The following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir William Ovens Clark, Colonel M. J. Meade, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. Owen Dunn, M.I.C.E., Mr. T. J. Bennett, C.I.E., Mr. T. H. S. Biddulph, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mrs. and Miss Russell, Miss Drury, Miss Chandler, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Bakhle, Miss Bakhle, the Misses Bakhle, Mrs. Drury, Lady Graves Sawle, Miss Scarth, Mr. Haji, Miss Bonnerjee, Miss Jones, Mr. Patvardhan, Mr. B. M. Lal, Mr. E. D. Carolis, Mr. S. V. Swami, Mr. K. C. Bhandari, Mr. Patel, Mrs. Burke, Miss Constantine, Rev. W. Broadbent, Mr. Marshall, Miss Dove, Mr. H. Marsh, C.I.E., Mr. Kureishi, Dr. Mehta, Mrs. Sen, Mrs. Somerville Stephens, Mrs. Kinnier-Tarte, Mrs. Beauchamp, Mr. M. Firoz, Mrs. Frazer, Mrs. Collis, Miss Fuller, Miss Walford, Miss Francis, Mrs. and Miss Brereton, Miss Stoton, Mr. A. A. Khan, Mr. T. Davis, Miss Davis, Mrs. and Miss Wilmot Corfield, Mr. and Miss Prescott, Mr. N. N. Wadiar, Miss Brind, Mr. B. R. Amhedkar, Mrs. Haigh, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. F. C. Channing, Miss M. Sorabji, Mrs. Frederick Pollen, Mrs. Marsh, Miss Ross, Miss Bowles, Mrs. Wigley, Miss Wells, Mr. Ryan, Mrs. Woods, Miss Bridge, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. W. Frank, Mrs. Lound, Mr. Sunampadu Arumugam, Rev. H. Udny Weitbrecht, D.D., Miss A. A. Smith, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The SECRETARY: I am sorry to tell you, ladies and gentlemen, I have just heard from Lord Lamington that he is detained by military duties, and cannot preside here, but in his absence our old friend from Bombay, Sir Frederick Lely, has kindly consented to take the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: I am exceedingly sorry for the absence of Lord Lamington, more especially as it involves imposing upon you an inferior substitute; but with regard to interest in the subject which is to be brought before us to-day I can honestly say I yield to no one. Many of us do

not appreciate the enormous influence and power of women in India which they already possess, and still more will possess in the future. We see, sometimes, a man swaggering along the road with his wife meekly carrying the load behind him, and we hear of the ladies preparing the food of the house for their lords and masters, and only when they have satisfied them will they presume to take their place at the board. We are hence inclined to think that women occupy a secondary and subservient place. It is no such thing; it is all make-believe. The women of India, like the women everywhere, are an enormous domestic force, social force, and religious force, and I believe in the future will be no less a political force; and therefore the question of the education of women assumes very great importance. To use a phrase which I believe was originally used by Lord Beaconsfield, it is really "a matter of educating our masters."

Now Miss Ashworth is a lady who is fully competent to speak upon the subject, because she can speak, not only from a study of it, but after practical experience of the real facts, and I have pleasure in introducing her to you.

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure we all feel grateful to Miss Ashworth for the interesting paper which she has just read, showing a thorough study of the facts and a consideration of the remedies and means which are suggested for progress. Statistics are very ugly things, and it is dangerous to run one's head against them; but, in spite of them, I cannot help thinking that interest in the education of women in India has greatly advanced amongst the people of recent years. Years ago I admit the trend of popular opinion was against it. It used to be said that to send girls to school would be flying in the face of Saraswati—that is, the goddess of learning. If girls were allowed to invade her domain, hitherto reserved for boys, she would show her resentment by making them all widows. I remember a lady of some rank and position—a Muhammadan lady—who had received some amount of education; but unfortunately she was a lady who was very reckless in money matters, always outrunning the constable and getting into debt; and the wiseacres of the town used to shake their heads and point to her as one more evil instance of female education, for the many promissory notes of hers which were flying about the bazaars would never have existed if she had not been taught how to sign her name.

I have no doubt in my own mind that the popular feeling has much improved since those days, and that among a very large number of the more intelligent members of the community there is a willingness to send their girls to school and risk the chance of widowhood, always provided that the Government pays for all, and that they are not called upon to pay anything themselves. Now what we want, as the lecturer points out, is some definite lines of progress, and persistence on those lines; and the foundation of the whole thing in India, as in England, is the teachers. Unless you get good teachers, there is no hope for progress. The main point is to raise their qualifications in every branch, and for

that purpose, what we want above all things is a woman's college in every great centre of population, staffed and controlled by women and inspired by women. It is hard, to my mind, to conceive a more distressing state of things than our failure to get hold of popular sentiment, and failure, as General Gordon used to say, to get into the skins of the people. Even in England, where the relations between the sexes have been perfectly free for centuries, many people are inclined to look askance at the mixed schools—such a school as St. George's at Harpenden, for instance, where the boys and girls eat together, and do their lessons, and win scholarships together at Oxford and Cambridge. It is an excellent school, but a great many intelligent people hesitate rather to approve of it.

If that is so in England, how much stronger will the feeling be in India. Probably none of you will need a lengthy explanation of the relationship between the sexes in India. It is infinitely more restricted than it is in this country, and therefore what in England is at the worst a doubtful innovation—I mean this system of mixed teaching—is, to most of the ordinary Indian citizens, indecent and scandalous; and yet that is the form under which the education of women has for the most part been introduced. What has been done to conciliate popular sentiment, to soften the transition between the woman of the past and the woman of the future? The fact is the girls have themselves invaded the colleges and the lecture-rooms; they have opened the doors and taken their seats by the side of the male students; and the authorities, on their side, have adopted a perfectly negative attitude, and allowed them to enter and learn their lessons along with the male students, at the hands of male teachers, without providing any sort of supervision or control. My experience is, perhaps, rather out of date, but to my mind there is no greater need in India than a staff of self-respecting, well-balanced, mature, educated Englishwomen who shall teach and control and inspire; and I wish my Indian friends to note this; I would only have them as a vanguard who would lead up to a new race of Indian women who would take their places.

I should just like to mention that the lecturer, I am sure by inadvertence, has omitted to refer to one effort which deserves immense respect from us all. She has mentioned two colleges, I think—the Queen Mary College of Lahore, and one other—new colleges; but she has made no mention of an institution which has been carried on for many years by a band of brilliant and devoted women for the medical education of women at Ludhiana in the Panjab—women of the highest rank in their profession, who have lived for years on subsistence allowances, devoting the fees they get from private patients to the support of the school, and training year by year a number of women and surrounding them with the influence of a Christian home, giving them the highest medical training and sending them out to minister to their sister women. I am sure an effort like that deserves the greatest consideration, and, no doubt, it was only omitted by inadvertence.

Mrs. FREDERICK POLLEN said that she was afraid she was not com-

petent to speak with regard to the merits of the subject, but, as Sir Frederick had mentioned the Ludhiana Medical School, she would like to mention the Queen Mary High School,* of Bombay, which was doing an excellent work,† and also the High School at Lahore, the only Women's College in Panjab affiliated with University; has two hundred pupils, where they were preparing to work on College lines, and which already had classes preparing for the University.

The Rev. Dr. H. UDNY WEITBRECHT said the question was one of the most vital importance for India, especially at the present day. They wanted, first of all, to bring to their imagination what the real state of things was, and, secondly, to do what they could towards promoting this great object. If they asked themselves what was the motive of the effort which had hitherto been expended on women's education in India, he thought that would take them to the bedrock of the question. Take, first, the case of the missionaries. They had gathered a certain number of Christians, and if the girls were not educated to be suitable wives and mothers, these Christian families could never develop, as they should; therefore they started girls' schools for them. The same thing was happening in the case of the Indian community generally, and, although the figures quoted by Miss Ashworth were very low, yet surely they offered some encouragement, seeing that within a decade the education of women had increased something like 100 per cent. as compared with the former lamentably low figure. Now what had been the cause of that? Surely the spread of education amongst the men. Being themselves educated, and having in some cases seen what life is in a family where the wife is educated as the husband, they have felt the want of educated partners in life. Thus the desire has sprung up, at any rate among the upper classes, and is increasing, for female education in India.

A new and powerful factor in the movement is the war. Association in work for the benefit of the soldiers had brought Indian women into touch with the idea of a community outside the Zenana, and beyond their own villages and towns. Indian women have begun to feel themselves citizens of a great Empire, and, wanting to do what they could for their country, they were beginning more than ever before to desire education. There was a great want to be supplied, and the question was, how could the Government and others meet what was a genuine demand? Provided the education was of the right sort, the appetite would increase with the consumption. Perhaps this indicates one reason why the appetite had not increased so largely as they would have liked. It had been mentioned that when the Indian parent wanted his girl educated, he did not say: "What am I to pay for it?" but, "What will you give me if

* Queen Mary High School, for Hindus, Muhammadans, Parsees, Sikhs, and Christians, has between two and three hundred pupils and a European staff of six.

† The University Settlement, Bombay, also seeks to meet some of the pressing needs of University students, which have been so clearly put before us. This hostel is appreciated quite beyond its residential capacity by Hindu, Parsee, and Muhammadan students.

my girl goes to school?" This means that they needed to avoid the errors into which they had fallen in the development of male education in India, more especially the neglect of duty relating to the lives of the children as inhabitants and citizens of India. There had been too much copying of the three R's as taught in Europe, without the fourth R—Religion—the lack of which they were all agreed on as being a deleterious influence. It was for the authorities to adapt the new ideas to the life of the Indian woman which she should lead in her own home.

Then there was a further consideration—the cult of the vernacular. This had been much neglected in the system of education in India hitherto. When the Renaissance came to Europe in the fifteenth century it was no doubt through a foreign language—the Greek—but the literature and the philosophy which it enshrined did their work by reviving the great literatures of the vernacular languages of Europe. The same effect had not been produced, as it should have been, in India. Speaking generally, its vernaculars had not experienced the reviving influence which should have come through the impact of a new thought and a new culture. No student of a university should receive a degree merely for knowledge expressed in English, unless he also showed his ability for setting forth in his mother-tongue what he had learned through a foreign one. If the vernaculars were given due recognition in college and school, and above all in girls' schools, then one might hope that the educated Indian woman, even more than the educated Indian man, would become the vehicle for spreading the knowledge acquired from Western sources in the homes of the people, and so reviving the whole intellectual life of India as it had never been revived before.

After all, it was their friends the Indians who had the chief part to play. It was according as they honoured their women, and showed what they wanted them to be, that the Indian woman who loved her husband and her brother and father would strive to get education. But the Englishwoman living in India also might play an important part, if she would make herself acquainted with the vernacular, so that she could move freely in the Zenanas, and have sympathetic, friendly intercourse with the women, who would surprise her by their response to genuine friendship.

Miss WALFORD said, as one representing those who had gone out to South India to do educational work, their difficulty was to know what Indian parents did want. Unfortunately, she felt that there was not a growing desire for education. She had been among Hindus for twenty-five years, and she could not say they had increased the number of schools. They had opened schools in some parts, and closed schools in others, and the numbers would be about the same. In Tinnevelly, amongst the Hindus, particularly amongst the high castes, they had not managed to keep the schools beyond the Fourth Standard, and if anybody could tell her what means they ought to take to make their education attractive, she would be very grateful. Her experience had been, in dealing with village children, that unless they gave them something—such as dolls, for instance—it was very difficult to get them to learn.

She had often felt very much discouraged; they had trained teachers, perhaps not the ideal teachers, but conscientious girls who had been trained, and who were seeking the good of their people, but it was always a difficulty to get Hindu children to school, and if anyone could help her to solve that problem she would be deeply grateful. There was a new mission college started in Madras—the United Missionary College—and another one which the Government had started just before, so that they really had two colleges in Madras. The great difficulty she had always felt was how to make primary education what the people required. She only knew of one school in the Tinnevelly district where they could get the children to go up to the Seventh Standard, and that was done with the greatest difficulty.

Mr. COLDSTREAM said it was with great pleasure he had heard the Ludhiana College alluded to. If there was one kind of female education in India which was pre-eminently necessary, it was medical education. For medical training women were required who were highly educated; because to undergo medical education with advantage students must have had previously a thoroughly good general education. Besides the Harding Memorial College at Delhi, and the Women's Christian Medical College at Ludhiana, a female Medical College had been, or was about to be, started in Madras. Too many of them India could not have, considering its great need of women doctors. Male doctors were often not allowed to practise amongst the women, and it was sad to think that at present only those two or three colleges were in existence! With reference to what had been said about the Kinnaird Women's College at Lahore, it might interest them to know that one of the principal posts in the school was occupied by a young Panjabi lady. There was no feature in Indian life which had changed so rapidly as the education of women, and he hoped the considerable progress would go on increasing. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. FIROZ said he would like to say a few words with regard to the inquiry as to the best way of making female education attractive to the Indian female, and indeed remarks had been made about Indians wishing to get some prizes or dolls before they would go to school. The reason was that the people could not afford the fees at the school, and that was why they hesitated before they sent their children to school. People forget, when commenting on Indian education from the English point of view, that wealth in this country is about £30 per head, and that of India about 27s. Education here is compulsory, and in India it is not, for the simple reason that our Government is comparatively poor, and can't afford such a great expenditure in the face of other and more pressing wants. Why the higher classes hesitated was that in all the missionary schools great stress was laid on religious education, but if they went to any of the Government schools no religion was taught there, and to an Indian, religion was more even than life itself. If the Government only devoted more attention to the desires of the people, there would be no reason why the Indians should not flock to the schools. They must first of all assure the people, not only that their education

would be looked after, but their religion. If that was done, there was no reason why they should not be successful. With regard to the Queen Mary School, there were Mussulman, Hindu, and Christian teachers, and religious classes for all the children separately; and if education was to be made popular the first thing was to pay special attention to their religious ideals. No country had ever made progress unless it had progressed on its own national lines and national language, whereas in India the native children, before they could sign their own names, were taught in English, "D O G, dog means *Kutta.*" On the contrary, they should attempt to teach them in their own language. Very few English people really devoted much time or attention to learn, speak, or write books in the Indian language. It is a deplorable fact that Indians educated in the West, if they write a book, will write it in a foreign language, forgetting the fact that that language very likely already possesses a better written book on the subject. The first consideration was to teach the children in their own language, and not talk to them in English, because they could not understand English. (Hear, hear.)

The LECTURER, in reply, said she was very conscious of the omissions in her paper, particularly with regard to medical education and the work of missionaries; but the subject was a very wide one, and it had been necessary to cut out a considerable amount of matter in order to keep the paper within bounds.

To treat the subject adequately it would be necessary to devote a separate paper to both medical education of women and the work of missionaries in women's education in India. Her original intention had been to deal with the higher education of women only, and with that in view she had written to the principals of all the important schools and colleges for information regarding each institution. A number of replies had been received, but the bulk, she was afraid, were at the bottom of the ocean. She wished to draw attention to the new movement for the higher education of women in India. It was very important, and would have a considerable influence on the future of India. She felt that the potentiality of the movement was not fully realized, and that the present policy of *laissez-faire* was a dangerous one. The presence of young women students in men's colleges without any sort of feminine supervision was undesirable, and caused not only difficulties with regard to discipline, but a painful shyness in the more sensitive girl students. The opponents of women's higher education in India based their objections mainly on two grounds—the fear that Indian women students might imitate militant suffragists, and that they might be affected by the sedition (Hon. Sec.: "Unrest") which had crept into some of the men's colleges. With regard to militancy, it was true that the mass of English women students were suffragists, but not "militant" suffragists. The mental discipline of college training made law-breaking distasteful. With regard to unrest, its entrance into men's colleges was mainly due to the want of intimate relations between staff and students. Under the existing circumstances there might be some danger of the women students being affected, but Indian women are very loyal by nature, and if they

were taken into residential colleges staffed by women the affectionate relations which would certainly be established between students and teachers would leave no room for political unrest. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. JOHN POLLEN, in moving a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and the Lecturer, said that he had been asked by Sir Arundel Arundel to express his regret at not being able to stay to the end of the meeting in order to have the pleasure of hearing Miss Ashworth, but he had entrusted to him the duty of thanking her for her paper and also of thanking the Chairman for his kindness in occupying the chair at a moment's notice. He (Dr. Pollen) had his own views about the education of women in India, but he feared they were so hopelessly heterodox that it would hardly do to give them full expression on the present occasion. He had always held that, as things were in these modern days, the women of the East, in nearly everything that touched "distinctive womanhood," were better educated than their sisters of the West, and he thought this was indicated in the simple manner the hair was dressed and the graceful way in which the head was covered by the daughters of the Orient. Could anything be more charming than the Grecian symmetry of the Indian sari? He would not allude to the æsthetic curves and folds and other graces of feminine attire in India as compared with the shortening skirts and high-heeled, sheeplike leggings of the West, for "comparisons were odious." But he thought in matters of dress the education of Eastern ladies was more complete and restful than was commonly recognized. Miss Ashworth had, however, dealt with her subject most admirably, and Sir Frederick Lely had thrown a flood of light on the various questions raised. He had much pleasure in moving a vote of thanks to the lady lecturer and chairman.

Colonel MEADE seconded the proposition, which was put to the meeting, and received with applause.

The CHAIRMAN suitably replied on behalf of himself and the lecturer, and the proceedings terminated.

CHINA IN ENGLISH LITERATURE*

By G. Currie Martin, M.A., B.D.

Were one to ask the ordinary educated Englishman or Englishwoman for references to China in English literature, they would probably be exhausted by two well-known quotations, one from Tennyson and one from Dr. Johnson.

"Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay."†

This in itself betrays an ignorance of the land to which the poet refers, for it obviously did not enter into his mind that a real "cycle of Cathay" only amounted to sixty years. In the second, China is nothing more than a geographical term.

"Let observation with extensive view
Survey mankind from China to Peru."‡

Were the person interrogated to extend his definition of English literature so as to include American, he might quote to you Bret Harte's "Heathen Chinee," and who knows how much influence that amusing set of verses has had on the mind of the average man in giving him altogether erroneous ideas about the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire?

"The smile that is childlike and bland" is supposed to be a characteristic expression of the wily Oriental, who hides under that cloak all sorts of subtleties and chicaneries which

* A paper recently read before the China Society at Caxton Hall, Westminster, Dr. Timothy Richard in the chair.

† "Locksley Hall."

‡ "The Vanity of Human Wishes."

are destined to ruin the prospects of the trustful Westerner. He knows nothing of the reliability, honourable dealing, and pledged word of the Chinese gentleman. He is unaware of what a Chinese lawyer once told us from this platform—that the Chinese did not require written receipts and elaborate systems of law until they came into close contact with Western civilization. I remember dining with a lady on the eve of my journey to China some years ago, and she expressed great wonder that I should visit such a country. On my asking why, she replied: "Oh, I should hate to go, for I should expect to be murdered in my bed every night!" One would have thought *one* such experience would suffice, but the mental attitude betrays the distrust that arises from ignorance.

Yet, as I hope to show, English readers had comparatively little excuse for their lack of knowledge, for there has existed for centuries in their own language very excellent accounts of that land, and very just estimates of some of the finer qualities displayed by its inhabitants. This paper is a mere *ballon d'essai*, in order to stir up interest in a subject not hitherto examined, and incite some members of this Society better qualified than myself to make fuller investigation.

I wish I could claim for the father of English poetry a knowledge of China, and an attempt on the part of him

> "Who left half told
> The story of Cambuscan bold"*

to familiarize his countrymen with the wonders of Cathay. In spite of the efforts of Professor Skeate to prove that Chaucer's "Squire's Tale" is indebted to Marco Polo, I feel constrained to say that more careful and impartial study has forced us to abandon that idea. There were other accounts of what seemed the mythical wonders of these far off lands that with far greater probability furnished our poet with the foundations of his tale.

Neither can we any longer claim Sir John Mandeville as the father of English prose. The real author of that book

* Milton, "Il Penseroso," l. 110.

is almost certainly Jean de Bourgogne, and his sources Friar Odoric and others, whom he unblushingly plagiarizes, having probably never gone farther than the Holy Land on his own account. The English version of the work, originally written in French, exerted a strong influence on English prose for five centuries, and the version made about the year of Chaucer's death familiarized English readers with the marvellous romance of the East. He tells tales of the court of the Grand Cham and Prester John, and of those other islands (for everything is an island in these far Eastern lands), whither one must sail from Venice or Genoa. As Miss Greenwood * says of him, " This greater than Defoe used before Defoe the art of introducing such little details as give to fiction the appearance of personal recollection." He had, moreover, skilful devices for creating the feeling of reality; the wonders he relates are sometimes accounted for by what appears a rational cause; touches of criticism or personal reflection contradict the supposition of simplicity; with equal circumstantial gravity he describes the trees which bear " boumbe," or cotton, and those which bear the very short gourds " which, when ripe, men open and find a little beast with flesh and blood and bone, like a little lamb without wool." He " improves " his authorities. Thus, where Odoric says the hangings of the Great Cham's court were of red leather, Mandeville describes them " as of panther skins as red as blood." He had the qualifications of a good journalist, and had an excellent eye for a telling phrase. He has an air of dealing faithfully with his readers, for he writes: " He that will trow it, trow it, and he that will not, leave. For I will never the latter tell somewhat that I saw, whether they will trowe it or they nill." He has boundless stories of adventures that remain untold. We can well believe it, if many emanated from his own brain. But he will not " queer the pitch " for subsequent adventurers, " wherefore," says the gallant knight, " I will holde me stille."

* " Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.," vol. ii., chap. ii.

Already travellers had been busy in these far Eastern lands—Odoric of Pordenone (1330), whom I have already mentioned, and others more famous, including the best known of all, Marco Polo. The latter is particularly poor in his accounts of China proper, but in one or other of the versions of his book was doubtless known to many English readers, and anyhow, tales from his pages would be widely familiar.

It is, therefore, surprising that among the great Elizabethans we have no more frequent reference to Cathay. In the splendid verse of Marlowe's "Tamburlane the Great" we look for it in vain. In his sweep of the world, and his grandiloquent speeches as to what he has or what he longs to conquer, Cathay is never mentioned; yet the colour and splendour of it would have suited his genius—had he only known.

Why did not Shakespeare, with his universal mind and gift to turn all things to account, discover some of China's secrets? One can only suppose that in spite of all that had been written no traveller had told anything of China's history, and there was no dramatic situation for him to choose. How many magnificent lines might have been added to Othello's speech had he only taken him to far Cathay. As it is, the inhabitants of that land were for Shakespeare only synonyms of cheatery and chicanery. Oh, the pity of it!

In the "Merry Wives"* Page and Ford discuss Falstaff.

"*Ford:* I will seek out Falstaff.
"*Page:* I never heard such a drawling, affecting rogue.
"*Ford:* If I do find it—well.
"*Page:* I will not believe such a Cataian, though the priest o' the town commended him for a true man."

Falstaff as a typical Chinese is too ludicrous for words!

Again, in "Twelfth Night"† Sir Toby Belch in the hour of revelry cries out: "My lady's a Cataian; we are politi-

* "Merry Wives," Act II., Sc. i., 148.
† "Twelfth Night," Act II., Sc. iii., 80.

cians; Malvolio's a Peg-a-Ramsey, and 'Three merry men be we,'" the context proving the contemptuousness of the reference.

Had Spenser known of the riches of the land, we had surely met it in the "Faery Queene." Once he seems all but on the verge of the discovery:*

> "But let that man with better sense advise,
> That of the world least part to us is red;
> And daily how through hardy enterprise
> Many great Regions are discoverèd,
> Which to late age were never mentionèd.
> Who ever heard of th' Indian Peru?
> Or who in venturous vessel measurèd
> The Amazon huge river, now found trew?
> Or fruitfullest Virginia who did ever view?"

The hour was at hand when that new knowledge should be within everyone's reach. These were the days of the Elizabethan voyagers, and once, at least, Drake himself came into touch with a Chinaman. This was during a visit to the East Indies. A Chinese refugee begged Drake to take him back to his own land, but the Commander was not prepared to go so far. The Chinese listened to all Drake's adventures "with the utmost attention and delight, and having fixed them in his mind," we are told, "thanked God for the knowledge he had gained."†

There was one that has been termed "the busiest mole that burrowed beneath those infloriate lawns. . . ." In a century of the creative genius of such diverse men as Marlowe and Nash, Sidney and Raleigh, Drake and Bacon and Donne, he steadfastly fulfilled the office of an editor, second to none in the modest virtues which should adorn it, yet confident of the loftiness of his ideal and the significance of his self-imposed duty. He produced what Froude calls "the great epic of modern England." This man was Richard Hakluyt. "In his rectory at Wetheringsett, when he closed his study door on Suffolk he flung open his window

* "Faery Queene," Book II., Introduction.
† Johnson, "Life of Drake."

to Cathay,"* writes the author of the most recent study on his great book, and he thus brought the magic vision near to his contemporaries. The "Voyages" is a wonderful book—occasionally dull and slow, but ever leading us on by its vistas of wider horizons; filled with dramatic incidents, coloured with all the glory of East and West, for in these pages they inseparably meet. Nothing comes amiss to him, and in his fine English he translates the monkish chronicle, the Romanist missionary, or the pages of Marco Polo into that living tongue that was being moulded into incomparable majesty under the hand of his contemporary, William Shakespeare. Hakluyt's multifarious riches spilled over into the hands of another and younger clergyman, Samuel Purchas, who styled the five folios he produced "Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes." The good man tells us that he never travelled more than two hundred miles from his two Essex livings; but he loved his work, and though he has little discrimination, he has preserved for us much valuable material, often doubling his predecessor's pages, but at the same time giving us many new sources of information. From these two storehouses Englishmen learned much, and might have learned far more. Their modern sumptuous editions give us no excuse for leaving unexamined the riches they amassed. Purchas himself has a pertinent passage in one of his numerous quaint editorial notes, which even now, after three hundred years, has its sting of truth. "And so," he writes, "has it fared with all Tartarian and Chinesian affairs, of which we had so little knowledge as of Tamerlan, further than terrors of Tartarian armies and some men's special occasions and travels have given us light. Even the sun riseth in those parts whiles it is not day breake with us, and hath attained almost his noon-point before we see him: and worthy we are to abide in a black night of ignorance, if we welcome not what light we can get (if we cannot get what we would) from so remote an East. . . . To reconcile all doubts is for me too hard a

* Times Lit. Supp., Oct. 26, 1916.

taske, because Cataia and China are even still bemysted, and leave their surveyors perplexed."* Many of us have crossed in the luxury of the Siberian express these lands once traversed in far more arduous fashion by those early pioneers. We have books written for our instruction by men and women who have spent their lives in China, but we remain ignorant still, and perplexed by Eastern problems, and many of those who live within her own cities are blind to the riches and wealth of suggestion at their own doors! For the early seventeenth century there was much excuse, but for the twentieth little save indolence and indifference!

Let us now turn to a brief examination of some of the riches contained in the pages of these two writers drawn from contemporary narratives. Hakluyt, for example, gives a picturesque dialogue printed at Macao in 1590,† which presents a wonderfully accurate picture of China as then known, and many of the names in their quaint spelling are perfectly recognizable. It consists of fifteen provinces, we are told, among those on the coast being Coantum, Foquien, Chequian, Nanquin, Xantum, and Paquin; while among the inland ones are Xiensi, Xansi, Suchuon, and Junan. The Chinese Wall is described for us, and we are also told how densely populated is all the land. The distinction between what the author terms *fu*, *cheu*, and *hien* towns is clearly given. The soil is described as "fertile, the air wholesome, and the whole kingdom at peace." Great stores of silver, gold, silk, spices, cotton, and porcelain are everywhere to be found. The system of graduation is explained, the love of literature, the method of Government postal arrangements, and the variety of religions. It is an illuminating document.

As we turn over the pages we find in Gaspar da Cruz's "Treatise on China"‡ a wonderfully fascinating picture of Canton, which in many of its details would still serve as a good account. It is possessed of "very strong walls, very well made, and of a good height, and to the sight they seem

* Purchas, xi. 399. The quotations from Hakluyt and Purchas are from Maclehose's Edition, and the complete Indexes will give references.

† Hakluyt, vi. 348 *ff.*

‡ Purchas, xi. 474 *ff.*

almost new, being 1,800 years since they were made, as the Chinese did affirm. They are very clean, without any cleft, hole or rift, or anything threatening rents." Some of us who know the city might have other views about the next passage to be quoted, but one must remember that the conditions of our city streets in the Western world at that time doubtless left much to be desired, and China might well show to advantage by contrast. " All the streets and traverses are well paved, the pavements going along the houses (whatever that may mean !) and lower in the middles for the course of water. The principal streets have triumphant arches which do cross them, high and very well made, which make the streets very beautiful and enoble the city.

" The houses of the common people in the outward show are not commonly very fair, but within are much to be admired, for commonly they are white as milk (the writer must confess he has not seen many Chinese houses to which this epithet would apply !), that they seemed like sheeted paper. They are paved with square stones along the ground of a spanne little more or less, they are dyed with vermilion or almost blacke. The timber is all very smoothe and even, and finely wrought and placed, that it seemeth to be all polished or dyed or in white, and some there is in white so fair and pleasant to the sight, waved Damaske-like as it were gold, and so bright that they should do it injurie in painting it." The next description might have been written yesterday. " It is very populous and the people so much, that at the entering of the gates on the Riverside you can scarce get through. Commonly the people that goeth out and in doe cry and make a great noyse to give place to them that carrie burdens."

The traveller is a native of Portugal, and notes that the poverty is not so great as in his own country, nor the conditions of the worker so trying. " Idle people," he affirms, " be much abhorred in this country." Another of his remarks we know to be true, though we will not pursue him with his proof of it—our own recollection of city and country

smells in China will suffice to make us agree. " There is nothing lost in this country, be it never so vile."

He has great admiration for the Chinese carrying-chairs —vehicles doubtless familiar to him in the West, but apparently, from his admiration for them, the Chinese variety excelled those which he knew at home. " The chairs have a little window in each side very fair with a net made of ivory or of bone or of wood, through the which they that go within doe see on the one side and on the other of the street without being seen."

We have heard that the tricks of butchers and poulterers which he mentions are not unknown in China at the present day. " There are infinite swine, which is the flesh they most love—that it may weigh more they fill it first with meat and drenk, and the hens to make them weigh the more they fill theme likewise with water, and their crops full of sand and other things." The modern method of incubators, he asserts, was not unknown to the Chinese poultry farmer, though one he names is extremely primitive, and I fear he is altogether drawing on his imagination, or has been " fed up " with fabulous tales.

" In summer laying 2,000 or 3,000 eggs in the dung, and with the heat of the weather and the dung the eggs are hatched. In the winter they make a hurdle of canes very great upon the which they lay this great number of eggs, under the which they make a slack fire, continuing it of one sort a few days till the eggs be hatched."

He is greatly interested in their method of rearing ducks, and has quite a pleasing picture of the daily scene, as well as a description of the wild fowl, which remains as one of our own most vivid recollections of travel on the Yangtse.

" After it is broad day they give them a little sodden rice not till they have enough; when they have given it them they open a door to the River where is a Bridge made of canes—and the noise they make at their going forth is wonderful to see them goe tumbling one over another for

the great abundance of them, and the time they take in going out. They feed all the day until night among the fields of rice. Those which are owners of the shipping doe receive a fee of them that own the fields for letting them feed in them, for they doe cleanse them, eating the grass that groweth among them. When night cometh they call with a little taber, and though they be in sundry Barkes, every one knows their own by the sound of the taber, and goe into it, and because always in time some remayne without that come not in, there are everywhere many flocks of wild ducks and likewise of geese."

He saw the method of fishing with cormorants, which he accurately describes.

Apparently, Chinese roadways at that period were superior to those of Europe, and the lines which follow must recall to many here days of travel over mountain and valley when these same ways were trodden, and the beauty of many lonely spots disclosed. To me there was always a poetry in these paved ways of China, which countless multitudes had trodden. They had something of the marvel of the Roman roads, but one felt they were not made primarily for military purposes, but for trade and peaceful intercourse. This is how our author describes them:

"In all the mountains and hills where there are ways they are very well made, cut with the Pick-axe, and paved where they are needful. This is one of the good works of China, and it is very general in every place of it. . . . Many hills are cut in steps very well made."

Finally he is brought in touch with a novelty which is evidently not much to his liking. "He (the Chinaman) hath a custom to offer in a fine basket one porcelain with a kind of drink which they call *cha*, which is somewhat bitter, red, and medicinal, which they are wont to make of a certain concoction of herbs somewhat bitter." What would our good Portuguese have said could he have had a vision of the time when men and women all over the world drink that same "bitter, red, and medicinal" drink, not only with

delight, but long for it, if it is withheld, and the attempt to abolish "afternoon tea" might end in a revolution?

Surely the next statement—the last I have time to quote from his fascinating record—is an inference, not a statement of what he had seen. "There are some Chinaes that weare very long nails, of half a quarter and a quarter long, which they keep very clean, and these nails doe serve them *instead of the sticks for to eat withal.*"

These rich stores did not seem to be drawn on to as great an extent as we should suppose by subsequent writers. It is true that Robert Burton, with his massive learning, has many shrewd references to China in his "Anatomy." He praises them for not allowing many bachelors to live in their midst. He quotes the Jesuit father Riccius (apparently his main authority) on "that flourishing Commonwealth of China." He is full of admiration, as we shall find Thomas Carlyle was at a later time, of their method of choosing magistrates. "Out of their philosophers and doctors they choose magistrates, their publick Nobles are taken from such as be *moraliter nobiles*, virtuous noble; *nobilitas ut olim ab officio, non a natura*, as in Israel of old, and their office was to defend and govern their Country in war and peace, not to hawk, hunt, eat, drink, game alone, as too many do. Their Loysii, Mandirini, literati, licentiati, and such as have raised themselves by their worth, are their Noblemen only, thought fit to govern a state."* He quotes a Chinese proverb to the effect that they have two eyes, Europeans one, and the rest of the world blind. He makes numerous references to their prosperity, customs, and superstitions.

Later in the seventeenth century we have Sir Thomas Browne writing: "The Chinese, who live at the bounds of the earth, who have admitted little communication and suffered successive incursions from one nation, may possibly give account of a very ancient language; but consisting of many nations and tongues, confusion, admixtion, and corruption in length of time might probably so have crept in,

* "Anat. of Mel.," Part II., Sect. iii., Mem. ii.

as, without the virtue of a common character and lasting letter of things, they could never probably make out those strange memorials which they pretend, while they still make use of the works of their great Confucius many hundred years before Christ, and in a series ascend as high as Poncuus [P'an Ku], who is conceived our Noah."* This sentence is as involved as Sir Thomas's often are, but we can gather from it that he has some hope of discovering in China the origin of language!

Our second great national poet, John Milton, did not allow China to go altogether unnoticed in his epic. He has a metaphor descriptive of the issue of sin and death from the mouth of Hell, and driving thither all they met:

> "As when two polar winds, blowing adverse
> Upon the Cronian Sea, together drive
> Mountains of ice, that stop the imagined way
> Beyond Petsora eastward to the rich
> Cathaian coast."†

In the vision granted to Adam from the highest hill of Paradise we have a gorgeous passage of magnificent names in which occur these lines:

> "His eye might there command wherever stood
> City of old or modern fame, the seat
> Of mightiest empire, from the destined walls
> Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can,
> And Samarchand by Oxus, Temir's throne,
> To Paquin, of Sinæan kings, and thence
> To Agra and Lahor of Great Mogul."‡

And one further reference shows he knew little about the solidity of Peking carts:

> "On the barren plains
> Of Sericana, where Chineses drive
> With sails and wind their cany waggons light."§

Among Milton's prose works is a "Brief History of Muscovia," in the preface to which he says: "What was scattered in many volumes, and observed at several times by eye

* "Of Languages." Works, vol. iv., p. 197 (ed. 1835).
† "Paradise Lost," x. 289 *ff.* ‡ "Paradise Lost," xi. 387 *ff.*
§ "Paradise Lost," iii. 438.

witnesses, with no cursory pains I laid together, to save the reader a far longer travail of wandering through so many desert authors: who yet with some delight drew me after them, from the eastern bounds of Russia to the walls of Cathay." When we turn to the chapter that deals with Cathay we find that he is solely dependent on Hakluyt and Purchas for his information.

These quotations show that what Sir R. K. Douglas wrote was true. "All the names which had been made familiar by Marco Polo were exchanged for modern forms. Cathay, Cambalec, Campsay, Zayton, and Chiukalan had become China, Peking, Hangchow, Chinchow, and Canton; but it was some considerable time before it was generally accepted that the Cathay of the fourteenth century was identical with China, and even as late as the seventeenth century map-makers laid it down as a country lying to the North of China."

None of us will have forgotten our childhood's memories of the great romance written early in the eighteenth century by Daniel Defoe, "Robinson Crusoe," and we shall remember that towards the end of that book the hero finds his way to China and visits Nanking and Peking. Defoe is evidently not favourable to the Chinese, and writes of them in a very insular and parochial spirit. "What are their buildings," he insolently cries,* "to the palaces and royal buildings of Europe? What is their trade, to the universal Commerce of England, Holland, France, and Spain? What are their Cities to ours, for Wealth, Strength, Gaiety of Apparel, rich Furniture, and an infinite Variety? What are their ports, supplied with a few Jonks and Barks, to our Navigation, our Merchant fleets, our large and powerful Navies? Our City of London has more Trade than all their mighty Empire. . . . But the Greatness of their Wealth, their Trade, the Power of their Government, and Strength of their Armies, is Surprising to us, because, as I have said, considering them as a barbarous Nation of Pagans, little better than Savages, we did not expect such things among them; and this is

* "Robinson Crusoe." Farther Adventures *apud finem.*

indeed the Advantage with which all their Greatness and Power is represented to us; otherwise it is in itself nothing at all." Here is no sympathy, and therefore no insight, and it may be that such writing on Defoe's part, in a book so popular and so widely read, may have had a large share in creating common misconceptions that are current about China to this very day. Still worse follows: " I saw and knew that they were a contemptible Herd or Crowd of ignorant sordid Slaves, subjected to a Government qualified only to rule such a people." His picture of the Chinese gentleman is a horrible caricature, and there is only one curious and interesting incident—that of the house " plaistered with the earth that makes China ware. On the outside it was perfect white, and painted with blue figures, as the large China ware in England is painted, and hard, as if it had been burnt." Walls and floors within were of tiles, the figures on which were " exceeding fine indeed, with extraordinary Variety of Colours mixed with Gold . . . and after all, the Roof was covered with Tiles of the same, but of a deep shining Black." Perhaps it was of some such house that our Portuguese friend was thinking in his description quoted earlier in this paper.

A very different atmosphere surrounds us when we come to the gentle humour of Oliver Goldsmith. Here, for the first time in the middle of the eighteenth century, do we find a gracious and imaginative use made by an English literary man of his knowledge of China. In the " Citizen of the World " the letters are supposed to be written by a Chinese philosopher, who was a native of Honan. " The Chinese," says Goldsmith, " are always concise, so is he; they are simple, so is he; the Chinese are grave and sententious, so is he." And then with a quaint turn, laughing as much at himself as the Chinese, he adds, " But in one particular the resemblance is peculiarly striking—the Chinese are often dull, so is he !"

There are many sly hits at the general English ignorance of the country; while they boast themselves of their know-

ledge they speculate much on the antiquities of the country, though they know little of its present condition. A contemporary letter of a Mr. James written in 1756, to be found in Nicholls' " Literary Illustrations," gives proof of this. This gentleman had met the Chinese Ambassador, and goes on to write of the people as follows: " Their antiquity makes them a proper study of an universal Antiquary. What I have read of them shows that they are descendants of Noah and his wife after they came out of the Ark, and that they are the likeliest persons in the known world to read the Hieroglyphical Signatures of Thebes and Egypt, not being used to read by an alphabetical character, as the manner was in more enlightened later days."

Goldsmith makes much fun of such learned trifling in his pages, thus: " Fohi and Noah are the same person, since they have each four letters, of which two are the same. Fohi had no father, and Noah's was presumably drowned in the flood, which amounts to the same thing in the end, therefore they are identical." We have quotations from Confucius and Mencius, and tales of China, like that of the truth-telling mirror of Lao. The Chinese philosopher is pictured in a pleasing and gracious way, and he is allowed to criticize and satirize the foibles of English society, at least as much as Englishmen do those of his own land.

In Gibbon's " Decline and Fall " there are several references to China, but to one characteristic paragraph I may be permitted to devote a few moments. In discussing the trade between China and Rome, and the silk brought to the West from that land, he says: " I reflect with some pain that if the importers of silk had introduced the art of printing already practised by the Chinese the comedies of Menander and the entire decades of Livy would have been perpetuated in the editions of the sixth century. A larger view of the Globe might at least have promoted the improvement of speculative science, but the Christian geography was the surest symptom of an unbelieving mind. The orthodox faith confined the habitable world to *one* temperate zone,

and represented the earth as an oblong surface, four hundred days' journey in length, two hundred in breadth, encompassed by the ocean, and covered by the solid crystal of the firmament."* Here is a generous recognition of what international intellectual intercourse might have accomplished had the West only sought to draw wisdom from Oriental springs. In another of his writings Gibbon eulogizes the family of Confucius, which he reckons the most illustrious in the world. "In the vast equality of the Empire of China the posterity of Confucius have maintained above 2,200 years this peaceful honour and perpetual succession. The chief of the family is still revered by the sovereign and the people as the lively image of the wisest of mankind." In the general turmoil of a few years ago, it was at least rumoured that the then head of the family, living in a very humble position in Peking, might be made head of the Chinese State.

In this rapid survey we come next to William Cowper, in whose poems we find two casual references to things Chinese. In the "Progress of Error" occurs the following couplet:

> "Gorgonius sits abdominous and wan,
> Like a fat squab upon a Chinese fan";

and in the "Epistle to Joseph Hill" the lines:

> "Once on a time, an emperor, a wise man,
> No matter where, in China or Japan,
> Decreed that whosoever should offend
> Against the well-known duties of a friend,
> Convicted once, should ever after wear
> But half a coat, and show his bosom bare;
> The punishment importing this, no doubt,
> That all was naught within and all found out."

There is no need to enlarge on Charles Lamb's delightful Chinese fantasy on the discovery of roast pig, but in Leigh Hunt's "World of Books" there is an interesting and curious passage: "China, sir, is a very unknown place to us —in one sense of the word unknown, but who is not intimate with it as the land of tea, and china, and kotous, and pagodas, and mandarins, and Confucius, and conical caps, and

* "Bury's Edn.," iv. 534.

people with little names, little eyes, and little feet, who sit in little bowers, drinking little cups of tea, and writing little odes? The Jesuits, and the tea-cups, and the novel of Ju-Kiao-Li have made us acquainted with it; better a great deal than millions of its inhabitants are acquainted, fellows who think it in the middle of the world, and know nothing of themselves. With *one* China they are totally unacquainted —to wit, the great China of the poet and old travellers, Cathay, the seat of Cathaian Can, the country of which Ariosto's Angelica was princess royal. Yes, she was a Chinese, the fairest of her sex, Angelica."

We remember that Coleridge, writing in 1797, founded on an imperfectly remembered sentence in Purchas his fragment of "Kubla Khan":

"In Xanadu did Kubla Khan
A stately pleasure-dome decree:
Where Alph, the sacred river, ran
Through caverns measureless to man
Down to a sunless sea.
So twice five miles of fertile ground
With walls and towers were girdled round,
And there were gardens bright with sinuous rills,
Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree,
And here were forests ancient as the hills,
Enfolding sunny spots of greenery."

In Byron's "Don Juan" (xii. 9) we have:

"The ship
From Ceylon, Inde, or far Cathay unloads."

One other poet, Thomas Moore, derives a line from these same Chinese beauties in the couplet:

"From Persian eyes of full and fawn-like ray,
To the small half-shut glances of Cathay."*

But our great poets have not yet turned to China for inspiration. What would not Browning have made of it! How wonderful would have been some parleyings with certain people Chinese, some monologue of a great sage, or some dramatic incident in Chinese history! One would have given a great deal to possess Browning's analysis, *e.g.*, of

* "Lalla Rookh."

the soul of the Empress Dowager. The inscrutable nature of much in the deepest Chinese character it would take a master like him to unravel.

In Carlyle's " Heroes " we find him sympathizing with Chinese methods, as if they at least had ventured on Plato's plan of making kings philosophers and philosophers kings. " The most interesting fact," he says, " I hear about the Chinese is one on which we cannot arrive at clearness; but which excites endless curiosity even in the dim state, this, namely, that they do attempt to make their Men of Letters their Governors ! . . . There does seem to be all over China a more or less active search everywhere to discover the men of talent that grow up in the young generation. . . . These are they whom they *try* first, whether they can govern or not. And surely with the best hope, for they are the men that have already shown intellect. Try them; they have not governed or administered as yet; perhaps they cannot; but there is no doubt they *have* some Understanding without which no man *can !* . . . Surely there is no kind of government, constitution, revolution, social apparatus or arrangement, that I know of in this world, so promising to one's scientific curiosity as this. The man of intellect at the top of affairs; this is the aim of all constitutions and revolutions, if they have any aim."* And now China is trying the experiment with more vigour and, let us hope, prospect of success than ever before.

Among the " Imaginary Conversations " of W. S. Landor is to be found a very long one consisting of eight audiences between the Emperor of China and his Ambassador, Tsing-ti. The latter had been sent to Europe in order to find some zealous religious bigots who might sow dissension among the Emperor's enemies, the Tartars.

The description given of England is very severely satirical, but we do not find very much about China, save by way of contrast, as when the Emperor asks him to amuse the children with part of his adventures, but adds, " Prythee

* " On Heroes "—" The Hero as Man of Letters."

do not relate to them any act of intolerance or inhumanity; the young should not be habituated to hear or see what is offensive to our nature and derogatory to the beneficence of our God." The whole dialogue is well worth study.

De Quincey wrote a pamphlet in 1857 in support of the war against China, which is full of the most atrocious misstatements and prejudice. The following sentence will suffice:

"In the case of China this apostrophe, *The nations hate thee!*—would pass by acclamation, without needing the formality of a vote. Such has been the inhuman insolence of this vilest and silliest among nations." The adjectives could scarcely have been worse chosen.

As is the case with our great poets, so with our great novelists—no one has taken China for a background, or has endeavoured to interpret to us Chinese thought and life. Obviously the long and intimate connection of India with England gave that land a better opportunity, but China awaits, in the realm of fiction, her equivalents to Kipling, Flora Annie Steele, and other lesser lights. Japan has been more fortunate than she. Mr. Putnam Weale has blazed a trail in "The Human Cobweb," "The Eternal Priestess," and "The Unknown God." In these books there are some very living descriptions of things Chinese, and the reader gets memorable pictures of the great scenes in Peking and on the Yangtse. The atmosphere is often correct, but there is no real insight into Chinese character, or any setting forth of all that is most beautiful and worthy in the life of the land. A great novel revealing to the English people something of the heart of China would be one of the greatest gifts that could be bestowed upon us.*

Dickens only once describes a member of the race—in a

* By a curious coincidence, just as these pages were being written there came into my hands a novel by an American writer (A. H. Fitch) under the title "The Breath of the Dragon," which comes nearer what I have desired to see than any other book I know. It gives a good account of life under the Empress Dowager, and almost all the characters and incidents move in Chinese and not in Western circles. The book is a proof of what can be done, and a promise of more perfect attainment.

filthy opium den in the opening chapter of "Edwin Drood." Thackeray, so far as I know, touches it not at all, save in trifling verse in the ballads, which may form an amusing interlude:

A TRAGIC STORY

There lived a sage in days of yore,
And he a handsome pig-tail wore,
But wondered much and sorrowed more,
Because it hung behind him.

He mused upon this curious case,
And swore he'd change the pig-tail's place,
And have it hanging at his face,
Not dangling there behind him.

Says he, the mystery I've found,
I'll turn me round—he turned him round,
But still it hung behind him.

Then round and round, and out and in
All day the puzzled sage did spin;
In vain—it mattered not a pin—
The pig-tail hung behind him.

And right and left, and round about,
And up and down, and in and out
He turned, but still the pig-tail stout
Hung steadily behind him.

And though his efforts never slack,
And though he twist, and twirl, and tack,
Alas! still faithful to his back,
The pig-tail hangs behind him!

If this seems to any learned readers too frivolous, it scarcely needs to be pointed out that such a poem easily lends itself to various forms of allegorical interpretation, which I shall leave to their ingenuity to discover!

In John Stuart Mill's famous essay "On Liberty," in addition to two or three passing references to China, he has one rather significant passage in which he does justice to that people as "a nation of much talent, and, in some respects, even wisdom, owing to the rare good fortune of having been provided at an early period with a particularly good set of customs, the work in some measure of men to whom even the most enlightened European must accord,

under certain limitations, the title of sages and philosophers."* Further, he praises their faculty for impressing their best collective wisdom on the community, but in thus attempting to mould all on one pattern he sees the fatal weakness of the method, and warns his own countrymen against copying so dangerous a *régime*.

Books on China and Chinese affairs, accounts of travel in China, studies in her literature and ideas, have been written in ever increasing numbers within the last century, but what among them will be reckoned as permanent additions to English literature it is, happily, not for me to decide. (The latest and by no means the least significant is from the pen of our learned and versatile president of this afternoon.) Many of the ablest have been written by members of this Society, and it would not be fitting to appraise them amongst ourselves. Curiously enough, the only English poem known to me that is really interpretative of China is written by a man who, so far as I know, has never visited that country. Happily, he is still living, and his messages are full of stirring thoughts and energizing power to those who receive them. In his volume of poems entitled "Towards Democracy" Edward Carpenter has given a marvellous picture of that land, and has sought to bring it nearer to the imagination and heart of the English people. It was written in the year 1900. I cannot quote it all, but enough, I trust, to show you its power. Carpenter generally writes in the manner of Walt Whitman, and he does so here:

"Far in the interior of China,
Along low-lying plains and great rivers, valleys, and by lake-sides, and far away up into hilly and even mountainous regions,
Behold! an immense population, rooted in the land, rooted in the clan and family
The most productive and stable on the whole Earth.

A garden, one might say—a land of rich and recherché crops, of rice and tea, and silk, and sugar, and cotton and oranges;
Do you see it?—stretching away endlessly over river-lines and lakes, and the gentle undulations of the lowlands, and up the escarpments of the higher hills;

* J. S. Mill, "On Liberty," chap. iii.

The innumerable patchwork of cultivation; the poignant verdure of the young rice; the sombre green of orange groves; the lines of tea-shrubs, well-hoed and showing the bare earth beneath; the pollard mulberries; the plots of cotton and maize and wheat, and yam and clover;
The little brown and green-tiled cottages with spreading recurved eaves, the clumps of feathery bamboo, or of sugar canes;
The endless silver threads of irrigation-canals and ditches, skirting the hills for scores and hundreds of miles, tier above tier, and serpentining down to the lower slopes and plains;

* * * * *

The endless hills and cascades flowing into pockets and hollows of verdure, and on fields of steep and plain;
The bits of rock and wild wood left here and there, with the angles of Buddhist temples projecting from among the trees;
The azalea and rhododendron bushes, and the wild deer and pheasants unharmed;
The sounds of music and the gong—the Sinfa sung at eventide—and the air of contentment and peace pervading;
A garden you might call the land, for its wealth of crops and flowers,
A town almost for its population." *

The poet then goes on to describe its condition, "rooted in the family," touched but lightly by Government and by religious theorizing:

"By the way of abject common sense they have sought the gates of Paradise and to found on human soil their City Celestial!"

Then he concludes:

'And this is an outline of the nation which the Western nations would fain remodel on their own lines.
The pyramids standing on their own apexes wanting to overturn the pyramid which rests four-square on its base!"

The general outcome of this examination of our literature is to display the poorness rather than the richness of its acquaintance with China, and the strange lack of appreciation on the part of literary interpreters of the wonderful store of material that lies ready to their hand. They have enough history, description, and translation to supply them with a background on which their imagination may work, even without a visit to the magical land itself. But what a land it is! Soon we shall not be able to find medievalism anywhere as we can there. Even now, I suppose, things are

* "China," 1900.

altering with such rapidity that it is not easy to do it so well as six years ago.

With what marvellous pictures are our minds stored who have seen it all! Those great street scenes in the crowded cities; the vast grandeur of Peking, the sunrises and sunsets on the stupendous Northern plain; the nights in the court-yards of inns, with Rembrandt-like effects of light and shadow; and the weird suggestions of it all, as if somehow it called up familiar scenes out of our own past.

Then the scenery of rivers, lakes, mountains, beautiful a thousandfold more than we had dreamed. Visions abide with us of city fronts almost magical in the semi-darkness, their sordidness kindly hidden, and only their majestic grandeur and impressiveness revealed; of exquisitely situated pagodas and sleepy temples; of noble vistas over wild mountain ranges and brooding plains.

And then the people—their endless fascination; their sterling qualities of character; their patience; their frequent brilliance; their courtesy; their depths of possibility. Oh, if one had only the power to set it all out in poetry, fiction, or drama, so as to touch one's country men and women! And to think that so many judge China from some play of the class of "Mr. Wu," or from the miserable creations of Chinese scoundrels in popular books of detective stories!

What is probably wanted, more than anything else, is an interpretation in English poetry or fiction from the pen of a Chinese author who knows his own people, and can enable us to see into their souls. We eagerly await the day—surely not far off—when someone from China will do for his people what Rabindranath Tagore has done for India.

If the practical outcome of this paper could be that we should arouse some of our friends who have the real literary gift to turn to China for their next subject, or if some of us who possess that gift would so use it, we might be rendering a splendid service to the cause of international fellowship, to the uplift of the whole world, and to the best interests of that land and people which, next to our own, some of us here love best in all the world.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

The CHAIRMAN (Dr. TIMOTHY RICHARD) having expressed his high appreciation of the paper,

Mr. GEORGE JAMIESON rose to propose a very hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer. With great industry, he said, Mr. Martin had travelled through the whole range of English literature and culled from it here and there extracts bearing on China. The paper began with an account of how certain interesting tales of China had been preserved to us. In the Elizabethan period, when great commercial and maritime development was proceeding, after the discovery of the New World and the road to the Far East, when travellers were bringing back stories of distant lands, it so happened that there was a quiet clergyman living in Suffolk who, although he had never made a voyage in his life, was interested in the voyages of others. He gathered round him these travellers and got them to tell him their stories and to lend him their ships' logs. Thus, he collected stories of the whole world, among which a few referred to China. In that way references to China were preserved which otherwise would not have been available, and Hakluyt's accounts were fortunately free from a great deal of the imagination which characterized other writers' descriptions. The speaker considered that Gaspar da Cruz's description of Canton was still a very good one, recalling scenes which were familiar to most of them. That, incidentally, was another source of information which by the industry of this unpretentious clergyman had been preserved. But subsequent authors did not know much about China, nor did they take the trouble to inform themselves, for the next hundred years or so. The majority of the writers who had touched upon the subject of China had given an ounce of fact for a pound of fancy. In the case of Milton, for instance, following upon that magnificent description of Satan's voyage through Chaos and Darkness, when finally he reached the rim of the new-born world, the poet likened him to a vulture finding his way from the Far North to the plains,

"To gorge the flesh of lambs and yearling kids . . .,"

but, on his way, lighting

> "On the barren plains
> Of Sericana, where Chineses drive
> With sails and wind their cany waggons light."

If by Sericana the poet meant the Ordos Desert, he would not have been far out, but he would not have found many "Chineses" there. Besides, he need not have gone all the way to Hindustan; on the fertile plains of China the vulture would have found prey enough to batten upon. With regard to Coleridge, it was true that Khubla Khan had a summer palace in Shangtu, but as for Alf, the sacred river, and so on, he thought that was all fancy. This was one of the many instances of fact and fancy being mixed together, as occurred in so many references to China.

Dr. LIONEL GILES, the Secretary of the Society, endorsed what Mr. Jamieson had said in praise of the lecture, and seconded the vote of thanks. He said he agreed with the Lecturer's favourable estimate of Goldsmith's "Citizen of the World." It deserved to be much more widely read than it was at present, though rather for the purpose of studying English manners and customs of the eighteenth century than of obtaining correct information on China. There were some amusing blunders. For instance, the name of the hero, Lien Chi Altangi, was an impossible compound. "Lien Chi" might perhaps pass muster as a real Chinese name, but why tack on the Turkish "Altangi"? Again, the oaths he swore—"Head of Confucius," "Sun of China"—and the way he addressed his friend —"O Fum, thou son of Fo"—were Oriental perhaps, but certainly not Chinese. Then there was the Chinese bride, who spoke of going out shopping with her mamma, and purchasing ribbons from a female milliner! There were also several sayings of Confucius in the book which would not be found in the Chinese Canon. With regard to Dickens, Mr. Martin had stated that the only reference to China was to be found in the opening chapter of "Edwin Drood." That was not quite literally correct, although to all intents and purposes it was true. It might interest Mr. Martin to know that the hero of "Little Dorrit" was stated to have spent more than twenty years in China. Arthur Clennam, the gentleman in question, was one of those colourless nonentities whom we find serving as a foil to Dickens' more highly coloured creations. As to his having been in China at all, we must simply decline to believe it. Not a single reminiscence of that wonderful country or her no less wonderful people escaped his lips from the first page to the last. Dr. Giles went on to say that his real purpose in rising was to bring to the notice of those present a small book published in the reign of Queen Anne, in 1711, entitled "An Account of the Trade in India," by Charles Lockyer. "India" was a vague term applied in those days to the Far East generally, and that was perhaps the reason why the work seemed to be so little known to students of China. Two chapters were taken up almost entirely by a description of Canton, and

it appeared to be the most excellent account that had been produced up to that date, or for as long as a century afterwards. The following paragraph seemed to confirm Gaspar da Cruz's description of the whiteness of the walls of dwelling-houses there:

Papered Walls.—"Instead of white Washing, they cover the Walls of their Chambers with a sort of thin white Paper, which the Stationers paste on, for a small matter; it looks very well, but will not last."

The following further extracts might be interesting:

Canton.—The City Wall is of Stone to a great thickness, very high, and fortified with Guns and Outworks at irregular distances. The Guns are marked with China characters, whence I doubt not of their being made here; they are about 8 or 9-Pounders, some mounted on short Carriages, others without any, some very much Honeycomb'd, and all out of order. . . .

Food.—Rice is their general Diet, which they shove out of small Bowls so greedily into their throats that 'tis impossible for them oftentimes to shut their Mouths. They are likewise fond of several Kinds of Meat, that we think but one Degree better than Poison. Dogs, Cats, Rats, Snakes, and Frogs are Daintys; the last bear almost double the Price of other Flesh in the Bazars. . . . Rats are good meat to unprejudiced Eaters, Snake-Broth is very nourishing to sick Persons; but for Dogs and Cats I can speak nothing experimentally.

Fruits.—The Fruits they abound in are Oranges, Water Melons, Limes, Pairs, Red Plumbs, Pine Apples, Plantains, Bonanos, Chesnuts, Pumplemusses, and in general whatever the most fertile Parts of India produce, only coconuts and Palm Fruit they want. The Pumplemus is like a pale Orange, contains a substance much like it, and is five times as big. Some have white, and others red cloves within, but the Colour makes no Alteration in the Tast.

Tartars and Chinese.—I could see no Difference in the Men of those Nations. They are of an equal Bulk and Stature, and so well alike in Features, that tho' I was 5 months among them, I could not distinguish one from another by his Face.

Plays.—Their finest Plays are but Sadness well acted; nor would a Stranger think their best Singing any other than artificial Crying; for they raise and fall their Voices in such harsh, squally and ungrateful tones, that there is neither Head nor Tail to be found in it. Their Plays are wholly Tragick, acted by Eunuchs with great Passion, and are entertaining to Strangers, tho' they know nothing of their Language; for there is something of Novelty in every Act, which Gesture alone very agreeably imprints in our Minds.

Manners.—The better Sort of People are Civil and Complaisant to Strangers; but the Commonalty often Rude and Troublesome. When I have been buying of Toys in their Shops, of which here are such Variety, that a Man cannot tell when he has all, the Doors

in an instant have been throng'd with a larger gazing Mob, than in London attends the Morocco Embassador. They are here civiller than at Amoy, where I have been told the Boys often throw Sticks and Stones, and otherwise insult Europeans, without Correction from their Parents.

Dress.—The Tartars oblige 'em to shave their Heads, all but about the breadth of a Crown, where the Hair is carefully preserved to be plaited, and hang like a Whip down the Back. The longer this is the more Beauish they are counted, therefore they often help it with Art.

The Beaus, or Men of Dress, are never compleat without short Boots on, made of quilted Sattin, with Soles an inch thick, no Heels, and a fine Border on the Tops. Nor do they ever go abroad without Fans, instead of Canes in their Hands, which has given Birth to a Saying frequent among them, that the Tartars came on them with Swords, when they had nothing but these Women's Weapons to oppose them with; thereby justly attributing their Subjection to their Effeminacy. When they go abroad in Winter, they keep their Fingers warm with live Quails instead of Muffs.

Lanterns.—In the Feast of Lanthorns, I counted seven Hundred in one short Street; some of them were very large, with little ones hanging round them, like a Paper Hen and Chickins in a Farmer's Hall; and others in such figures as their Fancys lead them to. I know nothing but the Candles in Cheapside, on a Rejoycing Night, comparable to it in England.

Mosquitoes.—Muschetos, or Gnats, are so plenty in the Summer, that what with their Bitings, and Musick, it is a hard matter to sleep among them. Gauze curtains are a mean defence, and smoking the Rooms signifies nothing; so that the only Remedy is Patience perforce. One thing is remarkable in them, they don't disturb their old Acquaintance half so much as new ones, who in the morning will be as spotted as if they had been ill of the Small Pox, when others of a longer Standing in the Country shall not have a mark about them. . . .

The CHAIRMAN observed that he took it they had already thanked Mr. Martin for his lecture. They might also thank Dr. Giles for the excellent appendix which he had given them. He would like to congratulate the Society on the work they were doing. As the Japan Society had resulted in an alliance between Great Britain and Japan, so he hoped that at no distant date the China Society would result in an alliance between Great Britain and China. (Applause.)

Mr. ARTHUR DIÓSY referred to the honour which had been done the meeting by the presence of Dr. Timothy Richard. He need say no more than that. All who had the interests of China at heart knew what Dr. Timothy Richard's name meant to China, what he had done for China, and what he was still doing.

THE GREAT POWERS AND THE NEAR EAST

By a Traveller in the Balkans

1. "Turkey, Greece, and the Great Powers," by G. F. Abbott. London, Robert Scott. 7s. 6d. net.
2. "A Ride through the Balkans," by Agnes Ethel Conway. London, Robert Scott. 5s. net.

As a person who has endeavoured to make a somewhat careful study of the conditions prevailing in that part of Europe about which these two books are written, it has always struck the present writer that among the considerable number of persons who have travelled in the Near East there are but comparatively few who have grasped the real meaning of what they have seen and heard. It is therefore a matter for great satisfaction to hear from the pen of a distinguished publicist like Sir Martin Conway, who provides a charming introduction to his daughter's book, that "such persons have no power of sight. In the presence of the Parthenon they behold only so much masonry. They have no mental vision to thrill to the exquisite beauty of those stones or to apprehend them, not as in the mere foreground of to-day, but far off down the long avenue of the centuries in the great distance where the heroes dwell. To see anything you must bring with you the special power of sight and insight that is demanded by the particular object."

Though this world-famous explorer proclaims that the traveller father of a travelled daughter has to obey orders—

to supply a demanded introduction—and that the responsibility lies where the order emanates, in this case that responsibility will certainly not be one to weigh heavily upon whatever shoulders it may rest. Indeed, whilst the most important function of a modern preface may be merely to explain the objects for which the book has been written, and to state the manner in which the information has been acquired, the "reflections" of Sir Martin Conway are so full of reality, and his daughter's volume is so fresh and attractive, that it can only be to the great credit of both parties that there was such a volume to be introduced and such a born essay-writer to introduce it. For example, he tells us, with a truth which can only be understood by those who have experienced it, that "till you come where you have to sleep upon the ground you are not really free of the bondage of the crowd. To mount your horse in the morning, with all your goods upon a beast of burden and only rough tracks or none to follow, and not to be sure where you will find shelter next night—that is freedom, especially if you are without a camp or equipment and must rely upon the hospitality of a simple folk living in primitive fashion." And, again, there are few sights more pathetic "than that of an ageing individual, some man of business who has worked hard and made money, and at last taken a holiday with wife and grown-up family and launched forth to see the world. How it bores him! He has no eyes to see it with. The eyes he might have had have not been developed, and now it is too late to develop them."

Mr. Abbott's and Miss Conway's books are entirely different in their objects, their scope, and their contents. But none the less the two volumes have certain points in common. To begin with, they are both written by comparatively young people—young, suitably educated young, to whom, as Sir Martin Conway says, the outlandish world opens its arms and its heart. What is even more important, both the authors whose works are under review have been able to see, to hear, and to record, things which

might well have escaped the notice of others possessed of equally favourable opportunities. And, lastly, judging from what they each say and from the way in which it is said, our author and authoress, who deal with entirely opposite sides of what is more or less the same question, have carried out their respective works in a manner which proves that they are unconventional people desirous of acquiring information and of imparting it to those who know the various Balkan peoples only by newspaper repute and as kind of half-civilized persons, violent, dangerous, and untrustworthy.

Mr. Abbott's volume, which he aptly describes as "A Study in Friendship and Hate," is made up of two sections more or less equal in length. The first deals historically with the attitudes of the Great Powers towards Turkey, and the second relates to the different rôles of England, France, Russia, Germany, and Austria, towards the Greeks and towards Greece. In each case the subject in question is very ably reviewed, and the whole book is written and presented to the public with a care and a skill which must make it a valuable work of reference to those desirous of studying the numerous questions with which it deals. In fact, as a general criticism it may be said that the references are so copious and the authorities quoted so numerous that the reader seems constrained to recognize his ignorance and to feel he may indeed live and learn.

Whilst the whole volume proves that Mr. Abbott is a student of and authority upon history, it is obvious that to the everyday man the accounts given of more modern events are the parts of the volume of the more intrinsic interest. It was therefore quite natural for the author to devote chapters respectively to France and the Turks, Russia and the Turks, England and the Turks, the Germanic Powers and the Turks, and then to summarize what took place after the outbreak of the war in one short chapter called " Turkey's Choice." These chapters, which constitute a summary of the relations existing between

the Powers and the Government of the Sultan from the sixteenth century up to the present day, are full of attraction to the ordinary reader as well as to the student. But in justice to the public, and especially to those who have not been able to follow the trend of European events, it must be pointed out that almost throughout the whole of his volume the author has little that is good to say of Russia and Russian policy in the East, and that he finds in the Franco-Russian Alliance and in the Anglo-Russian Entente the reasons for many of the events which led up to and resulted in the policy adopted by Turkey after the outbreak of the war.

In dealing with the problems which confronted the Ottoman Government between August and November, 1914, Mr. Abbott explains the reasons which caused the Porte to vacillate and finally to adopt a choice which he says "came about in strict accordance with the law of causation." The author sees and visualizes the position, as a student is entitled to do, from the Turkish point of view. But whilst, if he has once decided to deal in detail with the question during the war, no complaint can be made against Mr. Abbott for raising points possessed of a bearing upon the then existing situation; in my opinion the author (it need hardly be said unconsciously) appears to make almost too many allowances for a Government which has not only thrown in its lot upon the side of our enemies, but which has already been responsible for many a disaster to its own people. For obvious reasons, therefore, I do not propose here to follow Mr. Abbott into details, and I would only quote as a single passage referring to our seizure of the two Dreadnoughts, built for the Ottoman Government, directly after the outbreak of the war. Mr. Abbott says:

"She [Germany] hastened to turn our gratuitous blunder to account by filling the gap left in the Ottoman Navy with units from her own fleet (the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* more than made up for the loss of the *Sultan Osman* and the

Reshadie) and presented to the starving State the wherewithal to pay its officials their long-overdue salaries."

The manner in which in this case we executed our undoubted right of taking over, in time of war, any battleship in process of construction in this country, and the fact that no adequate steps appear to have been taken to explain our reasons and rights to those who had subscribed money to defray the cost of building these ships, are open to the most serious criticism. But to speak of the adoption of a necessary and entirely desirable measure (even if it were carried out in a wrong way) as a "gratuitous blunder" is almost as unjustifiable as it is incorrect to say that the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* more than made up for the loss of two first-class, better armed, and more modern warships than even the *Goeben*.

In my opinion the section of the volume dealing with Greece is more interesting and even better done than that devoted to Turkey. This is partly the case because the subject is smaller, but principally because the author is obviously still more at home in Greece than in Turkey. But here again, legitimate as are many of his observations upon the conduct and management of the Allied policy at Athens, Mr. Abbott loses no opportunity of making excuses for and presenting in the most favourable light the attitude of a ruler who, to say the least of it, is not possessed of favourable sentiments towards the Allies. Indeed, be his justification what it may, the author, whilst recognizing the ability and patriotism of M. Venizelos, clearly indicates, though he does not say, that he thinks in a military question the Greeks have been right in being "disposed to let themselves be guided by the judgment of a soldier rather than by that of a layman, however clever."

In the ordinary way an author is, of course, entitled to form and to present his opinions to the public as may seem to him to be desirable. There is, therefore, no reason, and there is no space here, to criticize or to approve of the various points which are made by Mr. Abbott in the Greek

section of his volume. In the opinion of the present writer it is, however, desirable to allude in two instances to the manner in which facts of enormous importance are treated. In dealing with the special rights of the "Protecting Powers" in Greece, Mr. Abbott may be correct in inferring that, when these rights were actually invoked by the Allies, the policy of the King was supported by a large majority in the Chamber—a majority, however, obtained simply because M. Venizelos had prevented his supporters from taking any part in the election of December, 1915. But if a point is to be made of this at all, and if the attitude of the Allies is to be criticized in this respect, particular stress should have been laid upon the fact that, had they been utilized at the proper time, the rights of England, France, and Russia as the "Protecting Powers" of Greece were amply sufficient to compel the King to govern by constitutional methods. Thus in 1832 Greece was placed "under the guarantee" of the three countries. In 1863 it was agreed that she should form "a monarchical, independent, and constitutional State." Again, when it was arranged at the same time that the Ionian Islands were to be united with the Hellenic kingdom, it was settled that these islands were also to be comprised in the above-mentioned guarantee. Once more, in 1881, when the frontiers of Greece were greatly extended it was expressly stated that the inhabitants of the then new Greek territory were to "enjoy exactly the same civil and political rights as subjects of Hellenic origin."

In dealing with Græco-Serbian relations Mr. Abbott says: "Repeated assertions to the contrary notwithstanding, her treaty with Serbia imposed upon Greece no obligation legal or moral. It was a purely Balkan arrangement, providing for no complications outside the Balkan area." The first and obvious answer to such a sweeping assertion is that, if this be the case, it seems difficult to understand why the Greeks did not immediately publish the terms of the treaty itself. Moreover, unless that document expressly provided *against complications outside*

the Balkan area, it cannot fail to have come into operation directly Serbia was attacked by Bulgaria, and as soon as Serbia (or her Allies) arranged for the contingent which it agreed should be forthcoming from her side in case of the advent of circumstances necessitating the enforcement of the arrangement. In short, whatever may be Mr. Abbott's sources of information, the present reviewer is inclined rather to accept the opinion of Mr. John Mavrogordato, who in the course of an excellent article in the *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1917, quotes M. Maccas as his authority for saying "that until August, 1915, the validity of the defensive alliance between Greece and Serbia in the case of a Bulgarian attack had never been so much as questioned even by the most fanatical opponents of Venizelos."

To summarize, it may be said that, whilst Mr. Abbott has written without regard to war conditions—conditions which may or may not render it undesirable to express an opinion upon or to examine events the full consequences of which are still unknown—the earlier portions of "Turkey, Greece, and the Great Powers" are so carefully and well done that this volume must remain a highly important work for many a day. Thus, although many readers may regret that the author did not either content himself by bringing his account only up to the outbreak of the war or else postpone its publication until after the declaration of peace, there can be no fair-minded critic who will fail to recognize that Mr. Abbott has treated an all-important subject in a manner which could not have been attempted by a man who was not *au courant* with the history, the politics, and the problems of the ever-vexed Near Eastern Question.

As may be inferred from the title and subtitle, "A Ride through the Balkans—on Classic Ground with a Camera," Miss Conway's book contains, not an account of Balkan politics, but rather a description of the things which she actually saw during a journey made in the spring of 1914. The authoress, who went out "to pursue a very definite piece

of archæological work," so to speak, broke loose from her fetters, and instead of confining herself entirely to archæology, subsequently made extended journeys in areas which had then recently been the scenes of war. It is perhaps this veritable "strike"—this mental insubordination—which makes Miss Conway's book so attractive, for, unbound by any conventions and unhindered by any fears, this young lady and her friend, E., ventured to do and to say things which would have been impossible for a resident or a person possessed of a recognized position in countries where unconventionality is not appreciated.

From Athens the travellers went to Constantinople. Here the authoress imbibed the true spirit of the place, recognized the fascination of the Galata Bridge, and realized that Santa Sophia looks far more beautiful as a mosque than it could do as a Christian church. During their stay in the Ottoman Empire, Miss Conway and her friend went from Constantinople to Brussa, and travelled with the Turkish ladies, both by train and boat, and were surprised at the way they smoked in public. They saw an elderly woman sitting in the women's part of the train pull aside the curtain dividing her from the men, get a light from a male cigarette, and relapse into veiled seclusion! Such a sight, which can hardly typify the conduct of the Moslem woman even under the most modern of Young Turkish Governments, must have been an experience almost as exceptional as was that of these European ladies when they were conducted into the male portion of a Turkish bath at Brussa!

During a brief visit to Salonika Miss Conway found out that "no Bulgarian" was then "allowed to land in Greek territory"—a condition of things which, here as elsewhere, led to a very thorough search of baggage lest she might be a representative of that hated nation in disguise. From there she crossed the Gulf to Litocheri, and after making two extended tours in old Greece, finally landed at Prevesa, travelling thence by way of Yanina to Santa Quaranta at

the time of the revolution in Southern Albania. During this journey, which was thus made at a very interesting and exciting period, the travellers had their breakfasts and their boots cleaned for the expenditure of the large sum of three pence, studied and talked about the political situation, and in a plutocratic manner hired a special boat to travel from Santa Quaranta to Corfu!

Having passed Avlona and Durazzo by night, the two adventurers reached Cettinje, where they attended funerals by day and sat in the cafés until long past midnight. Clean as it was, they did not, however, like the Montenegrin capital as well as either Yanina or Scutari. In this latter city our former archæologists become thoroughgoing politicians. They talk of the situation with Colonel Phillips, who did such excellent work as its Governor, they *discover* that the Albanians are the oldest race in Europe and that Scutari ought to belong to them, they choose German as the language to address a sentry who turns out to be British, and they attend an evening party at the English mess, where they meet the representatives of numerous nationalities, then living on terms of perfect harmony, but now, alas! either dead or else fighting as enemies in the bloodiest war the world has ever known.

The task the most difficult of accomplishment, even by an experienced writer, is that entailed in the necessity of saying something new, something interesting, and something fresh about places and experiences which have already been fully described. "A Ride through the Balkans" is apparently only Miss Conway's second book, but the descriptions which it contains, the atmosphere in which she sees things, and the knowledge which she brings to bear, are so effective or so far-reaching that her volume is either amusing or interesting from cover to cover.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

MOHAMMEDANISM. By Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje. (*Putnam.*)

It is a piece of good-fortune for the English reader that this work by an eminent Dutch professor, one of the most competent scholars of Islam in Europe, has made its appearance in the English language. His writings have hitherto been printed either in Dutch, French, or German, and only two of them have been published in English translations. The present work owes its origin to the fact that the author was invited to lecture on Mohammedanism by a Committee for Lectures on the History of Religions, which was formed in America in 1892 and has since that date selected various professors to deliver lectures on the religious systems that form their special study in each case.

There are few authorities on Mohammedan questions that can speak with such accurate knowledge of the literature of his subject and such intimate acquaintance with the living facts as Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje, Professor of Arabic in the University of Leiden; and he represents a detached and impartial view of Islam, such as finds little expression in English works on the subject. We have plenty of attacks on this rival faith by Christian missionaries and controversialists, and some apologetics by Muslim, such as the Right Hon. Ameer Ali, or by partisans such as Professor T. W. Arnold (who comes in for some castigation in the present volume) or Mr. S. H. Leeder, but the judicious attitude of the true scholar is little represented in English publications. Professor Snouck Hurgonje is a fanatic on neither side. He expresses his belief in the sincerity of Mohammed, and condemns as unjust the opinion of those biographers who, while "they do not deny the obvious honesty of his first visions, represent him in the second half of his work as a sort of actor, who played with that which had been most sacred to him"; on the other hand, he does not hesitate to criticize the "various weaknesses which disfigured this great personality." In like manner he holds a just mean between a slavish reliance on early traditions and the extreme scepticism of scholars like Caetani and Lammens, who seek to minimize the part played by religious considerations in the early days of Islam; our author well says: "However great a weight one may give to political

and economic factors, it was religion, Islam, which in a certain sense united the hitherto hopelessly divided Arabs, Islam which enabled them to found an enormous international community; it was Islam which bound the speedily converted nations together even after the shattering of its political power, and which still binds them to-day when only a miserable remnant of that power remains."

Unlike many professors of Arabic in Europe, whose knowledge is derived solely from books, Professor Snouck Hurgronje has spent a considerable number of years in the East; in 1884-85 he lived for eight months in Jeddah and Mecca, and wrote a vivid and detailed account of the life of the holy city, not during the time of pilgrimage, as Burton and other travellers had done, but under the normal conditions that prevail during the greater part of the year. His book on Mecca thus supplements that of Burton, and contains a mass of information not accessible from any other source; it gives a history of the Sharifs and their government of Mecca, a description of the daily life of the inhabitants in their social and domestic relations, explains the organization of the courses of study followed by the theologians and students, and gives an account of the foreign residents, particularly of the Javanese. The Dutch Government, recognizing the difficulties connected with the administration of countries containing a large Mohammedan population, appointed him their expert adviser on all matters connected with Islam, with the title *Adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken*, and in a similar capacity he is still attached to the Dutch Colonial Office. The opportunities that such a position afforded him for acquiring information, enabled him to collect materials for his great work on Acheh, that Mohammedan state in Northern Sumatra which has at intervals given so much trouble to the Dutch Government; this is the only work of his that has been translated into English (London, 1906), with the exception of his "Holy War made in Germany," which appeared shortly after the outbreak of the present war. This is not the place to give a bibliography of the works he has written for the enlightenment of his fellow-countrymen; suffice it to say that they are of exceptional value to the student of Islam in the Malay Archipelago. But he addresses a wider audience in the articles that he has contributed from time to time to the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* and to the *Revue du Monde Musulman*—and in the work under review. The reader may thus feel assured that when he takes up this book, he puts himself under the guidance of a "master of those who know."

The scope of the work embraces the whole Mohammedan period from the time of the Prophet to the present day. The first chapter deals with the origin of Islam, and gives a careful analysis of the character and career of Mohammed, considered in the light of the most recent researches into the sources for his biography. Chapters II. and III. give a sketch respectively of the religious and the political development of Islam; and the volume closes with a chapter entitled "Islam and Modern Thought," in which there is much to interest the English reader, for the problem of bringing the vast Mohammedan populations under British rule into line with the methods and ideals of modern civilization is one of the most

difficult that English administrators have to deal with. The author passes in review the various Mohammedan institutions that serve as obstacles to progress, and indicates the lines on which it is possible for each of these obstacles to be overcome; he rightly puts aside the purely dogmatic part of such antagonistic elements as being of no greater importance than any other medieval dogmatic system that has its millions of adherents in the Christian world. The ritual laws create less difficulty in modern times than before, now that there is no external compulsion under non-Mohammedan rule. The personal law which permits polygamy and slavery no longer carries the same weight with Mohammedans themselves as it did in the past, and these two institutions are in no way indispensable to the integrity of Islam, as is shown by their decay in self-governing Mohammedan States of the present day. The legal prescriptions concerning Jihad, the so-styled "holy war," have already been thrust into the background by the logic of facts, and by the passing of political power in the world into the hands of non-Mohammedan States. The author finally makes an appeal, which ought to meet with a generous response from English readers, for a sympathetic attitude towards the efforts which the finer spirits in the Muslim world are making for reform. "England, France, Holland, and other countries governing Mohammedan populations are all endeavouring to find the right way to incorporate their Mohammedan subjects into their own civilization. . . . Both parties are almost equally concerned in the question, whether a way will be found to associate the Moslim world to modern civilization, without obliging it to empty its spiritual treasury altogether. . . . We can but hope that modern civilization will not be so fanatical against Moslims, as the latter were unjustly said to have been during the period of their power. If the modern world were only to offer the Mohammedans the choice between giving up at once the traditions of their ancestors or being treated as barbarians, there would be sure to ensue a struggle as bloody as has ever been witnessed in the world. It is worth while indeed to examine the system of Islam from this special point of view, and to try to find the terms on which a durable *modus vivendi* might be established between Islam and modern thought." He concludes with some weighty counsel, which we commend to the earnest consideration of English statesmen and all who are concerned with the Mohammedan world: "All agree that Mohammedans, disinclined as they are to reject their own traditions of thirteen centuries and to adopt a new religious faith, become ever better disposed to associate their intellectual, social, and political life with that of the modern world. Here lies the starting-point for two divisions of mankind which for centuries have lived their own lives separately in mutual misunderstanding, from which to pursue their way arm in arm to the greater advantage of both. We must leave it to the Mohammedans themselves to reconcile the new ideas which they want with the old ones with which they cannot dispense; but we can help them in adapting their educational system to modern requirements and give them a good example by rejecting the detestable identification of power and right in politics which lies at the basis of their own canonical law on holy war as well as

at the basis of the political practice of modern Western States. This is a work in which we all may collaborate, whatever our own religious conviction may be. The principal condition for a fruitful friendly intercourse of this kind is that we make the Moslim world an object of continual serious investigation in our intellectual centres."

If a general criticism of Professor Snouck Hurgronje's outlook may be offered, it would appear that, considerable as his acquaintance with Mohammedans is, it does not seem to have extended to those Mohammedans who in modern times have most successfully assimilated the culture of the West—*e.g.*, those Indian Mohammedans who are as much at home in the society of educated Europeans as our own fellow-countrymen. Had the author enjoyed a more intimate acquaintance with this more modern and elevated type of Muslim culture, he might have taken a more hopeful view of the prospects of Mohammedan society. But it is interesting in this connection to note what he has to say on the civilizing influence of life under an ordered European government upon the most unpromising material. Speaking of the population of Hadramant in Southern Arabia, he says that a poorer and more miserable population can hardly be imagined; the worst elements of the old Arab paganism hamper all moral and social progress; the chiefs spend their time in ceaseless and inhuman vendettas, and the religious leaders are fanatics of the most narrow-minded and bigoted type; chronic famine, resulting from the anarchy prevailing in the country, forces many of the Hadramites to emigrate, particularly to the Dutch Indies. Now, here, "though the Government has never favoured them, and though they have had to compete with Chinese and with Europeans, they have succeeded in making their position sufficiently strong. Under a strong European government they are among the quietest, most industrious subjects, all earning their own living and saving something for their poor relations at home. They come penniless, and without any of that theoretical knowledge or practical skill which we are apt to consider as indispensable for a man who wishes to try his fortune in a complicated modern colonial world. Yet I have known some who in twenty years' time have become commercial potentates, and even millionaires."

These words are an interesting commentary on the proclamation of Sir Stanley Maude at the time of the entry of the British troops into Baghdad: "It is the hope and desire of the British people and the nations in alliance with them that the Arab race may rise once more to greatness and renown among the peoples of the earth." Probably few persons who read this proclamation when it appeared in the English press know how much ground there is for entertaining such a hope; and still fewer realize how far it is possible for the English people to co-operate in the task of the regeneration of Mohammedan peoples. To those who are interested in this important problem we would commend the study of the present work.

THE MIDDLE EAST

FROM THE GULF TO ARARAT. By G. E. Hubbard. (Edinburgh and London: *William Blackwood and Sons.*)

FROM MOSCOW TO THE PERSIAN GULF. By Benjamin Burges Moore. (New York and London: *G. P. Putnam's Sons.*)

(*Reviewed by L. W. King.*)

These two books, both of which describe journeys in the Middle East undertaken before the war, contain much that is of interest at the present moment. We are all thinking just now of Mesopotamia and Persia, and special correspondents have told us something of the difficulties our troops have overcome on General Maude's victorious advance up the Tigris and during the pacification of Southern Persia under Sir Percy Sykes. But the messages they have sent us are necessarily confined in the main to military operations. The exigencies of the cable do not admit of much descriptive detail, and the reader must perforce construct his own background to the brief outline which his newspaper supplies. If he cannot draw upon his own experiences, his best plan is to study the record of some recent traveller who has the faculty of conveying to others his own impressions of the country he has seen. The authors of both these books possess that faculty, but as their motives for travel differed, their impressions are naturally not the same. Their routes, too, supplement each other, for they did not even cross, the one leaving the Gulf up the Shatt el-Arab, the other reaching it at Bushire. One feature both books have in common, and it is an important one for our purpose. They are both admirably illustrated by photographs, those of Mr. Moore being particularly good.

Mr. Hubbard's journey was of an official character, for he accompanied the Commission which delimited the Turko-Persian frontier in 1913-14. The object of the Commission was to settle all points of uncertainty as to the frontier, which had given rise to continual friction since the earlier Commission of 1848. In recent years Turkish violations of Persian territory had been frequent in the north, and after the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian agreement they became matters of concern to Russia as well as to the injured party, a Turkish force on one occasion coming into collision with Russian garrison troops in Azerbaijan. Things became worse in 1913, with the weakening of the Persian Constitutional Government, and British and Russian mediation was called in. As a result the Delimitation Commission was appointed, on which Mr. Hubbard acted as Secretary to the British delegates. His book gives us a very graphic account of their labours, which were brought to a close in the autumn of 1914, a few weeks after the outbreak of the war. They had then constructed the last of their boundary-pillars under the shadow of Mount Ararat, and the remaining Commissioners of the party made the best of their way back, each to his own country. It may be added that the British delegates found every way closed to them except Archangel, and so, for the first time probably since the days of our early merchant adventurers, Englishmen followed the route from Persia to their native land via the Arctic Sea.

How expeditiously the work of the Commissioners had been carried out may be gathered from the fact that in well under twelve months they had made a complete new survey of the frontier, extending for no less than 1,180 miles. It had included every principle of delimitation known to science. In its broadest sense the frontier is geographical, since it follows the great mountain range which, stretching S.S.E. from Ararat, separates the Persian plateau from the Mesopotamian plain. But there is no single nor continuous watershed, and in detail the boundary was determined by racial, linguistic, religious, and sometimes purely artificial, data. It goes without saying that the party followed no beaten track, and the record of their work has thus the advantage of considerable novelty.

Mr. Moore's route, on the other hand, was rather more prosaic in character. For nearly two-thirds of it, from Moscow to Askabad, he followed the railway; but it runs east of the Caspian and Aral Seas, and has such stations as Tashkent, Samarkand, Bokhara, and Merv. And in Persia he travelled by carriage.

He crossed the Elburz Mountains to Meshed, and after driving westwards to Teheran, turned southwards to Ispahan and Bushire, visiting the ruins of Pasargadae and Persepolis on the way. But the fact that he followed the highroad had its advantages, for he stayed at many of the great cities of the Middle East. Mr. Moore is an American, and he travelled purely for pleasure. He tells us that all the books he had read about Persia had been more or less rose-coloured, and had in turn coloured his visions of the land of Iran. His book he describes as "the journal of a disappointed traveller," and it must be admitted that the picture he paints of both Persia and the Persians is far from rose-coloured. He was put out by many of the small incidents and accidents of Eastern travel, and he states frankly all that was disagreeable. But he has an eye for country, and a distinct gift for descriptive writing. Hence the reader will gain a good idea from his book of the conditions in Persia before the war; but he must make some allowance for the author's disenchantment.

FICTION

THE ETERNAL HUSBAND, and other stories. By Fyodor Dostoevsky. (*William Heinemann.*) 4s. 6d. net.

Admitting that Dostoevsky is difficult to understand at a first reading, one might well begin the study of his work with such a volume as this, in which, from the more restricted scenario and far smaller crowd of actors in each story, it is more easy to get at the root motive of the drama presented. Here are three stories, two of very fair length, and one quite short; in each is minute analysis, virile characterization, and the taint of melancholy from which one never escapes in the work of this inspired man—or lunatic. Possibly the best of the three stories is the "Gentle Spirit," which fills the last few pages of the book; it is in any case a very remarkable character-study, and a mighty lesson as well.

There is little to praise in the translation, which at times gives, if not ungrammatical phrases, bits of bad English; it is, however, Dostoevsky, which is merely another way of expressing the fact that this work is evidence of genius.

E. C. V.

THE SHADOW LINE. By Joseph Conrad. (*J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd.*)

The obvious comparison suggested by "The Shadow Line" is "The Ancient Mariner," but I do not know that there is much point in making the comparison, except for the purpose of conveying the bare lines of the story. The import of the story is very different from that of Coleridge's tale. The Ancient Mariner had never any doubts as to why his voyage was so terrible, and the dead albatross tied round his neck is no more tangible than the sense of retribution which all the events which happen convey. It is the intangibility of the malevolent influences which pursue the ship in "The Shadow Line" that provide the sensation of this story, and the narrator's feeling of having blundered unpremeditatedly into his awful, death-haunted command. The shadow line is the line that divides youth from what lies ahead, the line that cuts across youth's beautiful continuity of hope, "warning one that the region of early youth must be left behind." In perceiving it there come moments of boredom, weariness, and dissatisfaction, moments when the past and the present seem full of emptiness, and the inclination to throw up one's job for no reason conquers. Such a moment induced a mate, who tells the story, to throw up his job, and left him, a discharged seaman in an Eastern port, waiting for a homeward mail. Suddenly a command is offered him. The way it is offered, the mysterious circumstances of its approach—above all, the presiding figure of the stolid, far-sighted, impersonal Captain Giles, who hauled his watch up from a deep pocket "like truth out of a well," are described with that power of investing the commonplace with consequence that Mr. Conrad possesses. The second part of the book describes the new captain's first voyage on his ship, which is driven back again to port by what seems to be the malign influence of his predecessor. Everything that happens on the voyage seems to confirm the first mate's sick obsession that the former captain, now dead and buried at the entrance to the Gulf, meant that the ship should follow him and be lost with all hands. Fever spreads among the crew, until not a man is left except the captain and the steward (who has a weak heart) to haul the sails. Deceitful breezes come and go, the store of quinine is found to have been tampered with and a filthy drug substituted for it; an impenetrable blackness and silence descends upon the ship at night, "like a foretaste of annihilation." The spell is at last exorcised by the first mate's screech of defiance at what seems to be the final moment of strain, and the captain steers a wildly rushing ship back to port full of fever-stricken and dying men. I think the book is one of Mr. Conrad's best. The figures of Captain Giles and of Ransome, the steward, are unforgettable.

I. C. W.

RUSSIAN ART

THE RUSSIAN ARTS. By Rosa Newmarch. (*Herbert Jenkins, Ltd.*) Price 5s. net.

Mrs. Newmarch planned this book nearly twenty years ago, when she made some notes while working in the Imperial Public Library at Petrograd.

Since then, as she says, a complete change has come over the æsthetic ideas of the Russians. "The prosaic, altruistic realism of the second half of last century, which was part of the reaction from the dilettantism of earlier years, and partly the outcome of the awakened sympathy of the classes with the masses, has given place to new impulses, to which I have only done imperfect justice in the last chapter of my book."

In spite of a second visit to Petrograd in the early autumn of 1915, she adds: "With many phases of the twentieth-century movement I feel in complete sympathy, but I cannot concur in the opinion of some contemporary critics that the New Men have utterly extinguished the Old Men, and obliterated for ever the spirit which gave birth to their works."

This book is planned according to the views expressed in the Introduction, from which we have just quoted. It contains chapters on Architecture, Decoration and Iconography, Illumination Engraving, the Period of Official Art, Painting, Sacred Art, Sculpture, and the New Art. The treatment of these subjects resembles that of popular Russian works on art, and thus constitutes a useful handbook for those who are absolutely ignorant of the Russian arts; but, even as such, it has its drawbacks. It is a picture-book rather than an art-book. The reproductions of Russian paintings and other decorative work are all in black and white, and in view of the fact that the strong point of Russian art is the colouring, it is impossible to gain from these illustrations any precise idea of the originals. There is another fact that makes this more regrettable, viz., that the English public has had scarcely any opportunity of making first-hand acquaintance with the works of Russian artists, as hardly any exhibitions of Russian art have been held in this country. Notwithstanding, this book contains abundance of useful and interesting information. As in a pantomime "Wooden Russia" presents itself to our vision. Then comes the Stone Period; then, after Oriental and Byzantine influence, Western culture becomes dominant; but all these are blended together to produce Slav art. Has Mrs. Newmarch succeeded in giving a glimpse into the soul of this art? Although she has some striking passages, we find little revelation to bring us in close contact with the æsthetic impulses of Russia.

What would have been the fate of Russia if she had embraced Christianity through the Roman, rather than through the Greek, Church? Would this have brought her in contact earlier with the Western nations, so that she should have come under the influence of the Renaissance? Was Byzantine influence pernicious? What, exactly, were the consequences of the Tartar yoke? What is the differentiation of Oriental

art? And to what extent has this differentiation affected the art of Russia? What of the Russian winter, the geographical situation and scenery of the country?

These are questions which are perhaps outside the scope of Mrs. Newmarch's book. Nevertheless, we should certainly have expected a little more analysis and some more folk-lore, as constituting a background of art.

Of the Oriental influence on the Russian architecture, which, in this volume, is also called "Caucasian," the influence of Armenian architecture should not be forgotten. According to the archæologists, the St. Sophie of Kiev is built in the Armenian style.

I may also point out that the celebrated Russian marinist, Ivan K. Aivazovsky (1817-1900), whom Mrs. Newmarch calls "an impassioned poet of the ocean in its calmest and wildest moods—a Swinburne among painters," was of Armenian nationality.

When all is said, we have before us a useful book, evincing painstaking labour, summarizing the work of different periods and various arts, with historical, literary and other references, thus extending English knowledge of Russia.

ARAM RAFFI.

ARTICLES TO NOTE

INDIA.

The East and the West (April): "India after the War," by Rev. K. W. S. Kennedy, M.D.

The Quarterly Review (April): "The Industrial Movement in India," by W. H. Moreland, C.I.E.; "Indian Cotton Duties," by Lord Sydenham, G.C.M.G.

Revue des Deux Mondes (May): "Les Yeux de l'Asir (les fumées de cœur)," by Rudyard Kipling.

Modern Review, Calcutta (April): "H.H. the Maharaja-Gaekwar's Administrative Record," by St. Nihal Singh.

Indian Review, Madras (March): "Post-War Reforms: A Symposium."

Pioneer Mail (April 7): "Indian Weights, Measures, and Money."

FAR EAST.

The Geographical Journal (May): "Easter Island," by Mrs. Scoresby Routledge.

The East and the West (April): "Towards Unity in China," by F. Morris, Bishop in North China.

The Far East, Tokyo (March 31): "The German Exodus in China."

NEAR EAST.

Edinburgh Review (April): "The Dardanelles Report," by Z.; "The Jewish National Movement," by Lucien Wolf.

Quarterly Review (April): "Cyprus under British Rule," by Sir John P. Middleton.

Fortnightly Review (May): "The Future Frontiers of Turkey," by Sir Thomas Holdich, K.C.M.G.

The Near East (May 4): "A New Situation in the Balkan Peninsula," by H. Charles Woods.

RUSSIA.

Contemporary Review (May): "Some Impressions of the Russian Revolution," by Sir Paul Vinogradoff; "The Prospect in Poland (I.), by O. de L.

Nineteenth Century (May): "The Russian Revolution: A Review by an Onlooker," by John Pollock.

Twentieth Century Russia (April): "Russia and Asia," by Sir H. H. Johnston.

Fortnightly Review (May): "The Russian Upheaval," by Dr. E. J. Dillon.

GENERAL.

Fortnightly Review (May): "A Torchbearer (Archdeacon Wilberforce)," by Constance E. Maud.

Church Quarterly Review (April): "A Defence of Classical Education," by the Warden of All Souls College, Oxford.

Edinburgh Review (April): "The Two Paths of Empire," by Editor.

THE DEATH OF ZAMENHOF

THE AUTHOR OF ESPERANTO

By the death of Dr. L. L. Zamenhof, Chevalier d'honneur of France and of the Order of Isabella of Spain, who has recently passed away at Warsaw, in his fifty-ninth year, the world has lost a linguistic genius of the very highest order, and a world-wide benefactor.

Zamenhof gave to the world a simple, easy, regular, and euphonious help-language which he hoped would prove as beneficial to all civilized nations as "Hindustani" had proved to the Hordes of "the warring world of Hindustan."

Thus, from the East came the idea as well as the practical proof of the possibility and utility of a simple international help-language "easily understanded of the common people."

In the West many attempts to introduce such a language have been made since the days of Sir Thomas Urquhart (1653), with his famous "Logopandekteison." But these attempts were all merely plans or projects, with the exception of "Volapük" and "Esperanto," which were languages carefully elaborated from the beginning to the end.

In spite of the difficulty of its construction, etc., Volapük had a brief success, and its downfall has, quite erroneously, been attributed to the appearance of a rival in the shape of Esperanto. This is not true. Esperanto was never a rival of Volapük, and never entered into the field against it.

As there have been so many misrepresentations on this point, it may perhaps be of use and of interest to explain why and how Volapük fell.

It failed for a very simple reason.

When the many-nationed rank and file who, in their desire for a common language, had taken the trouble to learn this very arbitrary and somewhat complicated tongue came together to discuss their common concerns, they found to their dismay that they could not readily understand one another. Changes were accordingly suggested, and the Chiefs of the movement quarrelled amongst themselves as to the best means of rendering the language more intelligible; and, in consequence of these quarrels, the movement collapsed.

It is true Esperanto was ready in 1878, but, hearing of Volapük, which was published in 1880, Dr. Zamenhof kept back his own inven-

tion, hoping that Volapük might accomplish all that was desired; and it was only when Volapük proved a failure that in 1888 Dr. Zamenhof modestly put forward his plan, under the title, "An International Language, by Dr. Esperanto." It may be explained that the word "Esperanto" is the active participle of the verb "esperi," to hope, and means "the person who is hoping," or "the hopeful," and this has become the name of the language invented by Zamenhof.

It was soon found that those who learnt this language could easily understand one another, no matter to what nationality they belonged, and the language has now been "selected as the International Language, not by academical discussions (of their very nature unpractical and unending in a matter such as this), but by the needs of the case, by the success of a daring experiment, by the far-seeing practical mind and consummate genius of Louis Lazare Zamenhof, the modest oculist of Warsaw, 'the Esperanto.'" The language has now obtained such world-wide sympathy and support, East and West, that its general use as a second language by all civilized countries is obviously only a question of time. It is not intended to supplant or take the place of any Classical or National language whatever, and as a matter of fact it helps foreigners to learn English and Britons to learn foreign languages. Dr. Zamenhof visited England twice, once after the great Esperanto Congress in Boulogne in 1905, when he crossed for a few hours to Folkestone and Dover, and was received by the Mayors and Corporations, and afterwards he came to this country for the third International Esperanto Congress in Cambridge in 1907, after which he was received at the Guildhall by the Rt. Hon. Sir Vezey Strong on behalf of the Lord Mayor, and was entertained by Sir Samuel Herbert and other members on the Terrace of the House of Commons.

We may note that Dr. Zamenhof was descended from a Jewish family renowned for its linguistic attainments. His grandfather Fabian was honoured by the Russian Government, and his father was Chief of one of the largest high-schools in Warsaw, and attained the rank of State Councillor. The *Jewish Chronicle* (April 20) writes:

"It was the polyglot character of his native town which suggested to him as a young man the idea of an international form of speech. Four different languages were spoken in Byelostok, and to this fact young Zamenhof attributed the constant dissensions and misunderstandings which disturbed the peace of the inhabitants. Alongside of his medical work, he threw himself with great zest into the study of languages. At one time Hebrew appealed to him as a possible universal language; then he worked at Yiddish. Finally, he came to the conclusion that no language could become a world-wide medium of communication which was not of a neutral character. In 1878 he succeeded in building up such a language on the basis of the Romance and Teutonic roots of modern European tongues. But it was not until 1887 that he gave the world his first brochure, published anonymously under the pen-name of 'Doktoro Esperanto' (Dr. Hopeful)."

J. P.



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME, BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

AMONG the most prominent people in London are the delegates from Overseas who are making "The Empire in Council" a reality. And among the delegates those who represent India—H.H. the Maharajah of Bikanir, Sir James Meston, and Sir S. P. Sinha—are playing a specially prominent part. The meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet and Imperial War Conference have made history. The inclusion of India has been widely and warmly acclaimed, and considerable progress effected with regard to her position in the Empire; "partner" is taking the place of the word "dependent." In reply to a message of loyalty sent from the first formal meeting of the Conference, His Majesty the King-Emperor declared that he was "glad to note that India is represented for the first time at the Council Board," and expressed the hope that the deliberations would lead to "the closer knitting together of all parts of his Empire in their united efforts to bring the present war to a victorious conclusion." At a subsequent meeting the Prime Ministers of Canada and New Zealand brought forward a resolution, which was passed unanimously, that India should be fully represented at all future Imperial Conferences. Indeed, it has been strongly emphasized that "a most striking feature of the meetings has been the cordiality displayed by the Dominions towards the Indian representatives and Indian participation," an important and significant fact in view of difficulties between India and some of the Dominions Overseas. On many occasions when the delegates from India have spoken to most varied audiences in different parts of the country, they have markedly emphasized this fact, and rejoiced in it.

The Secretary of State for India, in a message to the Viceroy, announced that His Majesty's Government will take the necessary steps to carry out the unanimous desire of the representatives of the Dominions that India should be fully represented at all future Imperial Conferences. The climax of this historic Conference was the presentation of an Address to His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle on May 3. In the course of his reply His Majesty said:

"It has afforded me the utmost satisfaction that representatives of India have been members of your Conference, with equal rights to take part in its deliberations. This meeting round a common board and the consequent personal intercourse will result in the increasing growth of a spirit of larger sympathy and of mutual understanding between India and

the Overseas Dominions. Your present gathering is a giant stride on the road of progress and Imperial development, and I feel sure that this advance will be steadily continued."

Among the resolutions of the Conference, already published in summary, two concern India: the first deals with full representation to future Conferences; the second runs as follows:

"That the Imperial War Conference, having examined the Memorandum on the position of Indians in the Self-Governing Dominions presented by the Indian representatives to the Conference, accepts the principle of reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions, and recommends the Memorandum to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned."

In addition to the actual work of the Cabinet and Conference, which has been arduous, the discussion of certain questions has been delegated to sub-committees, but in spite of these imperative demands, the delegates have found time to attend many important functions and to receive honours and distinctions. They have been entertained at Buckingham Palace by their Majesties the King and Queen; at the House of Commons by the Empire Parliamentary Association, under the presidency of the Lord Chancellor, the toast of "The Indian Delegates" being proposed by the Secretary of State for India; by the Empire Press Union; by the London Chamber of Commerce (East India Section).

The Freedom of the City of London was bestowed upon the Indian delegates with all the ceremony and solemnity of the City's ancient tradition; Manchester has awarded them similar honours, and Edinburgh made His Highness a Freeman of the city. Other cities are arranging to follow suit. These important functions have involved speech-making, which has been characterized by loyalty and frankness. His Highness has won the reputation of being both a soldier and a statesman, and the clear way in which he and his colleagues have put before varied audiences the position and aspirations of India has made a deep impression. The Maharajah entered a strong protest at Manchester against the idea of a British republic, declaring that India was, by ancient tradition, devotedly loyal to the person of the Sovereign. To Parliament he said: "To the Mother of Parliaments Indians look for sympathy and help to achieve further progress, and in due time realize their cherished aspirations." To the City of London: "Those who still say that India is governed by the sword do a grave injustice to both countries. British rule in India rests on a much firmer foundation; it is based on principles of justice and equity, humanity, and fair play."

Among other gatherings in honour of the Indian delegates the reception given by the National Indian Association and the Northbrook Society at 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, was marked by a characteristically Indian atmosphere, of which Sir S. P. Sinha and his colleagues expressed keen appreciation; and the special performances at St. James's Theatre, under the auspices of the Union of East and West, of "Chitra" (Tagore) and "The Hero and the Nymph" (Kalidasa) brought East and West into touch with India's great ancient and modern poets. The Right Hon. E. S. Montagu, formerly Under-Secretary for

India, made a forceful speech congratulating the delegates on the important work which had fallen to them to do as the first representatives of India in the Councils of the British Empire, and declared that such presentations of the ideals and literature of India as the plays gave "made for a sympathy, an understanding, and a consideration favourable to the establishment of institutions in which full expression would be given to her national aspirations."

In his lecture before the Royal Colonial Institute on "The Place-Names of the Empire," Sir Charles Lucas pointed out that the real point of the multiplicity of Kingstons, Queenstowns, Georgetowns, Victorias, Windsors, Prince of Wales's, etc., found Overseas is that the Empire is the product of a monarchy, and the peoples of the Empire are at pains to advertise the fact. The Crown, he insisted, is its great asset, and probably its greatest connecting link. The King represents and embodies the State, and, in the case of India, he added, there could never conceivably be the same loyalty to the changing head of a republic or to a House of Commons as to a King-Emperor.

The Secretary of State for India presided at the meeting of the Royal Society of Arts (Indian Section), when a paper on "Opportunities for Original Research in Medicine in India," by Sir C. Pardey Lukis, was read by Sir Havelock Charles. Tribute was paid to the foresight and energy of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in recognizing the importance of the health of dwellers in the Overseas possessions of Britain; in this way research in tropical medicine was fostered, and its beneficial effect is seen to-day. Praise was bestowed upon men who during the last twenty years have done valuable service by taking advantage of the unique opportunities India offers. There are in India three research laboratories, Kasauli, Bombay, and Madras, and Pasteur institutes at Kasauli, Coonoor, and Rangoon; one at Shillong and another at Parel will be opened in the near future. Of the Malaria Bureau at Kasauli, under the charge of Major Christophers, Sir Pardey spoke with keen appreciation, declaring that, "provided India continues to attract men with a leaning towards the scientific and research sides of their profession, there is no limit to the possibilities of the future." Mr. Austen Chamberlain remarked that "whether one looked at the problem in the light of the vast mass of humanity whose interests were at stake, or in the light of the numberless problems still unsolved which awaited the willing worker, India offers a splendid field for research and for the service of mankind." He urged the need for sending the best men to do this important work. Sir Patrick Manson, Sir Malcolm Morris, Surgeon-General Evatt, Major R. McCarrison, Sir Thomas Holdich, and Mr. Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, took part in the discussion.

The paper by R. S. Pearson, Forest Economist at the Research Institute, Dehra Dun, on "The Recent Industrial and Economic Development of Indian Forest Products," evoked considerable interest,

particularly from the commercial point of view. It dealt with such products as matches, paper-pulp, rosin, turpentine, gum, oleo-resin, and the antiseptic treatment of timbers. Sir Robert Carlyle, who presided, declared that in the development of India's resources, there was nothing to compare with forests. At present about 2d. an acre gross revenue was being earned, while the possibilities were beyond telling. Sir Louis Dane gave an interesting and amusing account of the development in the Panjab, where, in spite of difficulties and prejudice and uncertain action by the Government of India, notable success had been attained.

"It will be for Britain to fulfil the proud destiny of restoring Arabia to her geographical place," said Sir Thomas Holdich in the course of his lecture on "Bagdad" before the Central Asian Society last month. According to his forecast, Hedjaz, Syria, and Mesopotamia will emerge from Turkish misgovernment as separate and distinct Arab political entities, self-governed and self-protected, but he considered the distances between them too great and communications too difficult for federation. Medina, Damascus, and Bagdad will be revived, he thinks, as centres of administration, apart from the administration of Central Arabia, and Bagdad may become once again the home of Oriental literature and art. "We shall have to see to it that the Mesopotamian provinces are well guarded and well administered," he added, "that the remarkable opportunity for agricultural renovation is brought to a successful issue, and that well defined and scientific boundaries are drawn between Mesopotamia and the administrative territories of Turkey or of Russia (as the case may be) to the north and north-west, ere we can afford to leave the Bagdad Railway and Mesopotamian culture, both human and agrarian, to the care of the people of the country."

According to Dr. Weizmann, when speaking on "The Future of Palestine" at the Lyceum Club last month, the Zionist Movement is the renaissance of Jewry. He pointed to the fact that in the network of good Jewish elementary schools in Palestine Hebrew is the language spoken, and that the Jewish colonists not only pray in Hebrew, but live in it. "Once a people has found its language it has found three-fourths of the materials necessary for building up a nation." The invasion of Palestine by a British army, he declared, is a significant event. It will carry European civilization to the source of the Jordan, and then there will be a natural flow of Jews into Palestine, who will not only build up a Jewish nation, but contribute to human progress.

An echo of the amazing revolution in Russia was heard in London when the "Freedom of Finland" was celebrated by the Finns in this country. The keynote of joy and hope was that Finland, set free from tyranny, would be able to progress on the practical and successful lines of true democracy which she has made her own and which are an example to the rest of Europe. Less than one per cent. of illiteracy, and education not compulsory, and women not only voters, but legislators! Finland leads the way!

A. A. S.

MILITARY NOTES

By Lieut.-General F. H. Tyrrell

When the Emperor William I. introduced the system of universal compulsory military service into the German Empire, he laid an axe to the root of the tree of absolute monarchy. The institution of standing armies composed of professional soldiers during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries transferred the military power of the State from the feudal aristocracy to the Crown, and the monarchs soon learnt to avail themselves of the royal standing army for the purpose of curbing the power of the nobles and for crushing the liberties of the people. In Spain, in France, in the Netherlands, in Italy, the first use made of the new force was to suppress whatever had survived of free institutions and popular liberties. Louis XIV. in France was able to say, "*L'État c'est moi!*" The royal army looked to the King for its pay, its promotion, and its privileges, and formed a caste apart from the rest of the nation. There was no sympathy, but rather antagonism, between the military and the civil elements of the population. The monarch could rely upon his troops to crush any attempt to moderate his prerogatives or to limit his authority. But now the old standing army of professional soldiers is already a thing of the past. The inception of the new system of national armies was chiefly due to the desire of the Hohenzollern dynasty to augment the military power of Prussia; but its authors in doing so inflicted, though they little

suspected it, a mortal blow on regal authority. The army is now the nation in arms—"*Das Volk im Waffen*"—and should a difference of opinion happen to arise between the ruler and the ruled, the army will inevitably take the side of the people, because it is one with them. This is what has happened in Russia, where the most absolute and the most ancient autocracy in Europe has fallen in a day, without a stroke being struck in its defence; and this is what will happen in other countries.

Russia has not so far played a part commensurate with the strength of her army or with the resources of her territories in the present war, nor comparable to her achievements in former wars. As the net result of two years' campaigning, she has lost the whole of Poland to the Germans, and has been able to give but little effective aid to her Serbian and Roumanian allies. In Asia her arms have been more fortunate; her troops have conquered and occupied the whole of Turkish Armenia, crushed the German intrigues and activities in Persia, and joined hands with the British forces under General Sir Stanley Maude, operating against the Turkish cities in Irak.

The meeting of the Cossack and the Sepoy has for almost a century furnished material for the predictions of political prophets, and political strategists have long debated the question whether the meeting would take place on the banks of the Oxus or of the Indus. But, as usual, the unexpected has happened, and the Cossack and the Sepoy have met on the banks of the Tigris, and, what was still more unexpected, have met as friends, and not as enemies. The bugbear of a Russian invasion of India, which for some decades occupied the columns of the Anglo-Indian Press and the thoughts of the Anglo-Indian public, has now been laid to rest by the far-sighted policy of Sir Edward Grey and by the blundering diplomacy of the German Foreign Office. There is plenty of room in Asia for both British and Russian expansion; and by pursuing their aims and objects as allies, and not as rivals, Great Britain and Russia will

save millions of money and spare millions of human lives, and eventually arrive at the same result as would have been reached if they had engaged as enemies in a long and exhausting struggle for supremacy.

But the Cossack and the Indian Sowar have already foregathered some thirty years ago, when Sir Peter Lumsden, with an escort of Indian troops, met a Russian Delimitation Commission on the border between Turkistan and the Amir of Kabul's dominions, when General Komaroff bullied and browbeat the Afghans *vi et armis*, and Mr. Gladstone and Lord Ripon took it lying down. Then the Indian trooper, who enlisted for love of a soldier's life, looked with surprise bordering on contempt on the scanty pay and hard fare of the Russian conscript, and felt no fear at the prospect of meeting him in the field.

Our Indian Army is now the only regular army in the world the ranks of which are not filled by conscription. If the King-Emperor's Indian subjects furnished their quota of recruits for the colours in the same proportion as the citizens of a European State, His Majesty might dispose of the services of thirty millions of trained soldiers! But for the present the voluntary system in India gives us all the soldiers that the Empire needs. The distribution of the recruiting areas is irregular, and the proportion of recruits to the numbers of the population in the different provinces is a very varying quality. One single Province—the Punjab—furnishes one-third of the soldiers in the Indian Army; other Provinces, like Bengal and Burma, which have millions of inhabitants, supply no recruits at all. India south of the Kistna a few years ago furnished the forty thousand Sowars and Sepoys of the old Madras Army; but now, since the dissolution and disbandment of that army by the Government of India, the same area furnishes to the ranks of the Indian Army less than ten thousand fighting men. But the Madrasi Tamil makes a good and hardy soldier, as the records of the Queen's Own Sappers and Miners and the history of past campaigns

in India testify. In former days it might truly have been said of India, in the words of Pompeius Magnus, that wherever a British officer stamped with his foot legions would rise up; but during the last half-century the increased prosperity of the mass of the Indian people and the opening of innumerable new avenues to employment in civil life have considerably diminished the flow of recruits into the Army. However, the latest augmentation of the pay and pensions of the native ranks, and the increased prospect of active service, ought to act as a stimulus to recruiting. And there are vast sources of supply which have not yet been tapped by our recruiting system inside our own territories; besides which we might obtain many recruits from the Pathan tribes beyond our north-western border, and from the Gurkhas of Nepaul.

It might be well worth while to revert to the old system of raising irregular regiments as auxiliaries to the regular army which existed under the Honourable East India Company's régime. The irregular regiments were both cheaper and more efficient than the regulars, and a larger proportion of them remained faithful to their salt during the mutiny of the Bengal Army. They attracted the best class of recruits, because the absence of the minutiæ of drill and uniformity of dress was congenial to the Oriental temperament and habits; and as the native officers had the actual command of their troops and companies, the authority and responsibility which they enjoyed attract men of birth and wealth into our services. Some of the Risaldars, for instance, owned all the horses in their squadrons. The British officers of the regiments were but three—a Commandant, a Second-in-Command, and an Adjutant. The Second-in-Command had no other duty than to take charge in the temporary absence of the Commandant. The title was not a fortunate one, for in a well-regulated army there can be no division of command. But it has been imported from India into our British regiments.

So the title of Second-in-Command implies an ambiguity

which would render it especially suitable as an addition to our War-Office vocabulary. Lord Haldane's "clear thinking" was not accompanied by plain speaking, and the term of "Special Reserve" wherewith he christened our old militia regiments, when he converted them into Depôt Battalions for the Line, conveys no special idea at all. In other armies, a reserve battalion means a battalion composed of reservists, and a battalion which only receives and trains men and furnishes drafts to battalions in the field is called a depôt battalion. The term "Service Battalion," used in our Army List, might be taken to mean Home Service, or Foreign Service, or Field Service—it does actually mean the latter, but why not say so? But it is, after all, futile to worry over these "terminological inexactitudes," to borrow a phrase from our politicians, which very happily expresses their own favourite form of speech, when we think of the manifold duties and multifarious details of the work performed by our War Office during the past thirty-three months. It has created armies out of nothing, as if the fabled dragon's teeth of the old Grecian myth had been sown in the soil of Britain, has supplied them, equipped, and trained them for the field, and evolved an organization for them which may be open to criticism from military theorists, but which, at all events, works smoothly and harmoniously. Considering our utter unpreparedness at the beginning of this great war from a military point of view, the British War Office may be said not only to have saved the situation, but to have saved the Empire.

THE INDIAN REPRESENTATION ON THE IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE

By Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.

> "Germany's greatest disappointment in this war has been India . . . She expected sedition, distraction, disaffection, disloyalty, and the forces of Britain absorbed upon the task of subduing it. What did she find? Eager, enthusiastic, loyal help for the Empire. I think they are entitled to ask that these loyal myriads should feel, not as if they were a subject race in the Empire, but as partner nations."—*Mr. Lloyd George at the Guildhall, London, April* 27, 1917.

As Secretary of State for India, Mr. Chamberlain has been singularly happy in his appointments, both in those made directly by himself, and those he has sanctioned. And this soundness of judgment has never been more conspicuous than in the recent selections for the most important and dignified posts that have ever been held by Indian statesmen, whether of Indian or of British birth—the posts of the representatives of India in the Imperial War Conference.

At the banquet given to the Indian delegates by the Empire Parliamentary Association in the Harcourt Room at the House of Commons on Tuesday, April 24—with the Lord Chancellor in the chair, supported by the Prime Ministers of Canada, New Zealand, and Newfoundland, by General Smuts as representing the Union of South Africa, and a large number of other Imperial and Dominions notables—Mr. Chamberlain pointed, with legitimate pride, to the fact that this memorable occasion marks a conspicuous stage in the development of the relations of the different parts of the Empire. For, for the first time in its history, the direct representatives of India were sitting, as such, in council with the representatives of the other Dominions, and taking their part in the discussion of great Imperial problems. "It was," he said, "for those in this country, charged with the ultimate responsibility for Indian Government, to help the realization of the natural aspirations of the Indian peoples."

And again, at a similar banquet given on Thursday, April 26, by Mr. Charles Campbell McLeod, the Chairman of the East India section of the London Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Chamberlain declared that "the development of India is not only an economic, but also a political necessity of the first consequence; we must do all we can to help it on."

At the same banquet, the chairman, Mr. McLeod, in proposing the toast of the occasion, "The Indian Delegates," pointed out that Mr. Chamberlain had shown a thoroughness in dealing with Indian affairs

that was characteristic of his whole career; and, he added, it had been accompanied by a courtesy and firmness which had been of immense value to India. As an instance of this, he alluded especially to the masterly way in which Mr. Chamberlain had dealt with the passing tiff between Lancashire and India that had lately arisen over the question of the enhancement of cotton duties. He avowed his belief that both Lancashire and India would, among the results of the war, obtain vast new markets in Mesopotamia, Syria, and those parts of Africa that have hitherto been crushed under the German heel, and that the markets of India herself would be enormously increased in value by the developments that were promised.

In a Secretary of State for India, the qualities that makes for success are courage tempered by human sympathy, and tact illuminated by transparent sincerity; and these qualities are possessed by Mr. Chamberlain to a degree perhaps unknown in any of his predecessors in that responsible and difficult office. Sir Henry Fowler, afterwards Lord Wolverhampton, when confronted with a cotton-duties crisis not unlike that which Mr. Chamberlain has recently had to face, showed that he possessed these qualities. He boldly asked the House of Commons to remember its fiduciary duties to the Indian peoples for whom the British Government are trustees, and appealed, not without remarkable success, to the conscience and honour of each individual member of the House: "We ought each and all of us to regard ourselves as members for India!" But Mr. Chamberlain, in his trust of British honour and conscience, went even a step further than Sir Henry Fowler—he appealed to the honour and conscience of the very Lancashire men who were themselves most closely affected by the duties, with the result that large numbers consented to accept the duties loyally, pending the full consideration of all Imperial fiscal questions after the war.

It was obviously right and proper that the Indian delegates to the Imperial War Conference, now that they are fully recognized as real delegates, and not mere assessors, should adequately represent (1) the British Administration, (2) the educated classes of British India, who are fitting themselves to become the recognized mouthpieces of the dumb millions of two-thirds of the Indian continent, and (3) the Princes, who are the actual rulers of the remaining one-third of India. It is, I think, generally held in India that no more typical or distinguished representatives of these could be found than the gallant soldier-statesman the Maharaja of Bikanir, the most learned and able jurist of Bengal Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha (President of the National Congress in 1915), and Sir James Meston, who is now Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, after having held with credit most of the great posts open to the Civil Service of India.

Mr. Chamberlain, when proposing the toast of "The Indian Delegates" at the House of Commons on Tuesday, April 24, coupled with it the name of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir. "Nowhere," he declared, "is passionate loyalty to the King-Emperor more strong than among the Ruling Princes of India. From no part of the Empire had

more universal or more generous offers of support been made, and fulfilled, than from among the Indian Princes and Chiefs. The Maharaja of Bikanir was the model of a great Indian ruler, devoted to his King-Emperor and to the Empire; himself a soldier in many fields, a statesman in India and in conference here, himself a contributor of a force which had won honours in Egypt."

I believe that Bikanir was the first State in the world to raise and organize a Camel Corps; and that branch of the Service is particularly popular among His Highness's subjects. The Bikanir Camel Corps is famous throughout the civilized world, and with other Bikanir troops has done good service in many fields.

In my "Golden Book of India" I have shown that the Maharaja rules over a territory that is nearly twice as large as the combined areas of the kingdoms of Saxony and Württemberg; and that his dynasty—in common with those of his illustrious kinsmen of the Rájput *Suryyavansa* ("descendants of the Sun"), the Maharana of Udaipur and the Maharajas of Jaipur, Jodhpur, and Idar—has a more ancient lineage than perhaps any other ruling families in the world. The Maharaja's ancestor, Bika Singh, the Rahtor Rajput who founded Bikanir, was the sixth son of Jodh Singh, Maharaja of Jodhpur, descended from Umalrai, who was fifty-sixth in descent from Ráma, the hero of the Rámáyana. For centuries before A.D. 1194 the family had been the rulers of the vast Empire of Kanauj, frequently Lords Paramount of all Hindustan. Bika Singh's sister was the famous Princess Jodh Bai, the Empress of the Great Mughal Jahangir—a marriage that was regarded by the haughty Rajputs as a serious *mésalliance*, with which much romance and much fighting were connected.

Mr. Chamberlain has borne testimony to the remarkable value of the Maharaja's contributions to the deliberations of the Imperial War Conference, of which we shall learn more hereafter; while his Highness's recent speeches at the public functions, which have been recorded in all the London papers, have greatly impressed and delighted British public opinion. In particular, the chivalrous warmth of his denunciation of Mr. Wells's ill-judged letter about "Republican committees" has been applauded by almost every newspaper in the kingdom; and it has subsequently received striking confirmation by the remarkable telegram from the Maharaja of Jaipur, that appeared in the papers of May 8, declaring that all the Princes of India endorse the opinion of the Maharaja of Bikanir. On the other hand, it is felt that no praise could be too high for the exceedingly tactful and delicate way in which, on the occasion of his receiving, with his brother-delegates, the honour of the freedom of the city of Manchester, he pleasantly alluded to the "small differences of opinion on certain economic questions" that had sometimes arisen between Lancashire and India, which he thought were now in a fair way of being amicably settled, to their mutual benefit.

And Sir James Meston, on the same occasion in Manchester, appropriately observed that the pride which India legitimately feels at being for the first time directly represented in the Imperial Conference, will

undoubtedly be enhanced by Manchester's cordial reception of her representatives.

At the banquet given to the delegates by the Empire Press Union on April 25, with Lord Burnham (proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph*) in the chair, Sir James Meston declared categorically that "if they had known in India what they knew now, they could have done a great deal more in resources, in treasure, and in other ways, to assist in the great struggle. What India wanted was a lead and a guide in mobilizing her great resources, which she would place unstintedly at the disposal of the Empire." And at the same banquet, referring to Mr. Chamberlain's statement that arrangements were being made for a Parliamentary visit to India, Sir James urged that "there should also come to India at the same time a deputation from the Empire Press Union, to see what real India was."

At the House of Commons on April 24, the Maharaja of Bikanir found a suitable opportunity of putting before the British public a delightfully frank and graphic account of the warm and enthusiastic loyalty that is felt as a part of their religion by every Indian, Prince and peasant alike, to the Empire, and especially to the beloved person of their Emperor; and he dealt, with equal force and judgment, with the aspirations of the Indian peoples "to see our country, under the guidance and with the help of Great Britain, make a material advance on constitutional lines in regard to matters political and economic, and ultimately to attain, under the standard of our King-Emperor, that freedom and autonomy which you in this country secured long ago for yourselves, and which our more fortunate sister-Dominions have also enjoyed for some time past."

He frankly and honourably admitted that "no reasonable-minded person will contend that India is ripe at the present moment for self-government in the full sense of the term"; but he looked with confidence to a substantial step in advance at the conclusion of the war, trusting to the "sympathy, help, and readiness to recognize the changes that are taking place in India" on the part of the British Government, the British Parliament, and the peoples of the Empire, on the one hand, and on the part of Indians to "their patience, their due sense of responsibility, and above all to their concentration on that which is attainable." And it was in this sense that Sir Satyendra Sinha, when he was President of the Indian National Congress at Bombay in 1915, declared that self-government would be attained by India, "not by any sudden or revolutionary change, but by gradual evolution and cautious progress."

Of all the speeches that have been made by the delegates since their arrival in England, one of the very best, both in form and in substance, was that which was delivered by Sir Satyendra Sinha at the luncheon given by the Chairman of the East India section of the London Chamber of Commerce at the Cannon Street Hotel on April 26. Sir Satyendra declared that India had found her proper place in the Empire as a war revelation, and that the revelation had been a mutual one. The war had revealed India to the rest of the Empire fully and completely; it had revealed her warm attachment to the great Empire to which it was her

proud privilege to belong, her boundless resources, and the high and chivalrous character of her soldiers and her leaders. It will be remembered that, in the Boxer campaign in China, an impudent German general spoke of the Indian troops as "coolies"—and this of an army one of whose leaders was that Bayard of modern chivalry, General Sir Pertap Singhji, the Rahtor Rajput Maharaja of Idar, whose ancestors had been Lords-Paramount in Kanauj at a time when the ancestors of the Hohenzollerns were naked savages running about in the forests of Germany! When the Maharaja was told of this, he dryly observed, "I care not to answer this German in a drawing-room, but let him meet me on horseback in the open, and we will soon see who is the coolie!"

On the other hand, said Sir Satyendra, the war has revealed the Empire to India—the Empire on whose might the sun never sets, and whose daughter-States are great nations bound to the old mother by the most glorious traditions of freedom and moral right.

Speaking of the deliberations of the Conference, Sir Satyendra went on to say: "Great questions of constitutional importance were being discussed in reference to the future of India; all such questions had the supreme object of promoting the progress and prosperity of the masses of India." And he wisely and hopefully added:

> "The presence of the delegates from India at the Conference would not immediately solve the very delicate problems which existed, but those problems were being treated with mutual forbearance and consideration and with an understanding of each other's difficulties. If that spirit continued—and he was sure it would—the difficulties which had hitherto arisen would cease to exist."

Nothing better than this statement of Sir Satyendra Sinha, followed as it was by the cheers of the London Chamber of Commerce, and by the cordial agreement of the Secretary of State for India, could indicate with equal force and precision the glorious future for India and for the Empire that will surely result from the far-sighted and broad-minded policy of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Lloyd George, in bringing about this marvellous enhancement of the status, within the Empire, of India—until now only "our greatest Dependency," but henceforward to be one of our "partner-nations," and always one of the brightest jewels in the diadem of our common Sovereign, the King-Emperor.

The Times, in its leading article of May 2, commenting on the interesting speeches delivered at the Guildhall on May 1, on the occasion of the conferment of the freedom of the City of London on the Indian delegates, pays a high and well-deserved tribute to the eloquence of the Maharaja of Bikanir:

> "There has been no more moving passage in recent public speeches than that in which the Maharaja, speaking from personal experience, told how, when the Indian troops arrived in France, they were rushed straight to the firing line: 'Our greatest

pride is that our troops were privileged to go out to France almost immediately after the outbreak of war, and to arrive at the opportune moment, when units, as they came, were rushed straight from the railway to help to stem what the Germans confidently anticipated would be their triumphant march on Paris and the Channel. I was there, my Lord Mayor, with the Meerut Division, and I speak from personal experience. The fate of nations and of civilization then hung in the balance; every additional man counted; we had veritably a thin khaki line, with very little but our loyalty, our patriotism, and sense of duty to carry us through."

On May 3, His Majesty the King-Emperor graciously received at Windsor Castle all the members of the Imperial War Conference, on the approaching completion of their deliberations. On that auspicious occasion, the more important of the Resolutions that have been passed by the Conference—happily, in every case unanimously—were given to the public through the London Press; and these are the two momentous Resolutions that especially affect India:

"That the Imperial War Conference desires to place on record its view that the resolution of the Imperial Conference of April 20, 1907, should be modified to permit of India being fully represented at all future Imperial Conferences, and that the necessary steps should be taken to secure the assent of the various Governments in order that the next Imperial Conference may be summoned and constituted accordingly.

"That the Imperial War Conference, having examined the Memorandum on the position of Indians in the Self-Governing Dominions presented by the Indian representatives to the Conference, accepts the principle of reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions, and recommends the Memorandum to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned."

The reception by Imperial Majesty of the members of the Conference, the presentation of their dutiful address, and the gracious and memorable reply of the King-Emperor, set the seal for ever on the establishment of India in her high and honourable place in the councils of the Empire. I cannot conclude better than by quoting the gracious words of His Majesty in reference to this great and momentous event:

"It has afforded me the utmost satisfaction that representatives of India have been members of your Conference with equal rights to take part in its deliberations. This meeting round a common board and the consequent personal intercourse will result in the increasing growth of a spirit of larger sympathy and of mutual understanding between India and the Overseas Dominions. Your present gathering is a giant stride on the road of progress and Imperial development, and I feel sure that this advance will be steadily continued."

RUSSIAN POETRY

A MEETING of the King's College Russian Society was held in the College on Thursday evening, March 2. Professor Israel Gollancz, D.LITT., presided.

Mr. F. P. MARCHANT (joint hon. secretary) read the minutes of the last meeting, of which a report appeared in the ASIATIC REVIEW of January (p. 98). He alluded to the success of the art exhibition arranged by Mrs. Sonia E. Howe in January at the College, and laid stress on the valuable and generous assistance given by Mr. D. A. Lunden (joint hon. secretary), and the help afforded by College students.

The CHAIRMAN then introduced Dr. John Pollen, C.B., LL.D., and referred to his volume of "Russian Lyrics," published for the benefit of the Russian wounded.

Dr. POLLEN said that we were urged to get on with the War and not trouble about poetry, but poetry was closely connected with war. Tyrtæus long ago roused the drooping spirits of the Athenians and led them on to victory. We must recognize that poetry had the power of inspiring brave actions. The Lecturer referred to the foundation and work of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society, founded in 1893 by Mr. Edward A. Cazalet, to which he and Mr. Marchant had belonged from the beginning. The Russian language had its difficulties, but Dr. Pollen declared that students would benefit by a preliminary course of Esperanto. (Russians seemed to overlook that among them was a scholar and man of genius in the person of Dr. Zamenhof, of Warsaw.) Russian did not spring, like Athene, from the head of Zeus, and had inherited the Greek influence. Byzantine theology and Pushkin had a similar influence to that of the Bible and Shakespeare in England. The famous dictum of Lomonossov was cited, and the opinion of Karamzin that Russian was equal to ancient and modern languages. What is poetry? What is truth? Neither can be defined. Pushkin owed everything to his nurse; Gogol (sometimes called the "Russian Dickens") was little influenced by the West. Turgeniev's

nameless grace cannot be adequately translated. Tolstoy constantly writes and plays to the Western theatre, and "his wit is beyond wit(s)dom." Dostoievsky, like his friend Nekrassov, was a friend of the poor and down-trodden. Pushkin's services will be more recognized as time goes on. Dr. Pollen's favourites were A. N. Maikov and "K.R." (the late Grand Duke Constantine). He had met Moscow students who showed great promise, and he thought that intellectually Russia would grow into a giant. Church reading in Russia was elevated into an art, and contrasted with the slovenly way in which Lessons were sometimes read in our churches and chapels. Dr. Pollen was most grateful to the Russian people for their splendid hospitality, both in palace and in hut. A Russian host gives of his best, and wants to make his guest happy. In her memoirs Mme. Olga Novikov urges the pursuit of truth. Russian influence in the East has been good, and illuminated dark places of Oriental apathy and bigotry. In conclusion, Dr. Pollen urged the importance for us of increasing acquaintance with Russia.

Mr. MARCHANT said that he owed a vast deal to Russia, for it was Russia that brought him and Dr. Pollen together, as both were intensely interested in the same studies. There was the countless mass of *builiny*, rescued from obscurity by scholars like Hilferding. Like Dr. Pollen, he had enjoyed the works of A. N. Maikov, who took keen interest in the struggles of Christianity with expiring paganism.

Mr. LUNDEN observed that Dr. Pollen had said that Russia had few if any poetesses, and instanced the names of some.

Professor GOLLANCZ regretted that Dr. Pollen had not given any of his own splendid renderings of Russian verse. Milton was a great favourite among Russians, and that grand bard had said that only a pattern of true manhood could write a great poem. He desired a very hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Pollen to be recorded on the minutes.

Dr. POLLEN, in reply, returned thanks, and said he was aware that he had been in the presence of a master in the learned Chairman.

F. P. M.

INDIA AND THE PROPOSED WAR MUSEUM

We learn that the War Cabinet has accepted the proposal of the First Commissioner of Works to establish a museum in London in commemoration of the war, and that His Majesty the King has been pleased to express his sympathy with the scheme and the hope that it may be made thoroughly representative of the achievements of all units engaged in the war, both in the combatant and non-combatant services. It is a matter of special importance that the site which is chosen for the accommodation of this museum should be in a central position, and we notice that there is almost a consensus of opinion that the Tower would be the most suitable. It certainly has the advantage of doing away with the expense of putting up a new building, and of being in every way central —an advantage which cannot be urged in favour of the Crystal Palace or Alexandra Park. We may, however, draw attention to a paper read by Mr. C. E. D. Black* before the East India Association on June 13, 1910, in which he ventilated Mr. R. F. Chisholm's scheme of the Indian Museum on the south bank of the Thames, between the Westminster and Waterloo Bridges. This would at any rate help to realize the great dream of Lord Curzon, who, as is well known, looks forward to the time when the Surrey side will be one long and noble array of proud edifices.

It may be assumed that adequate space will be given to the part taken by the Princes and peoples of India, who have so spontaneously rallied round the King-Emperor. It is not only our plain duty to do so, but it will serve to make us more familiar with the fighting races of the great Peninsula, concerning whom there was a certain amount of ignorance at the beginning of the war, as shown by the general belief that all fighting Indians were Gurkhas. Moreover, future generations of Indians who come to visit London will instinctivey turn their steps to this War Museum to learn at first hand what their fathers have done in defence of the Empire. We presume that it is the intention to establish branches of this National War Museum, not only in the North of England, Scotland, and Ireland, but also in India itself—viz., at Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta, and Madras. In order to attain the full benefits of that Imperial cohesion which this war has made possible, it is not sufficient for us to learn of the great deeds of valour by hearsay, but we must be able to see with our own eyes permanent records bearing on the various campaigns.

Sir Martin Conway has been appointed Director-General—a choice which is gratifying from every point of view. He is well acquainted with India, and his expedition to the Himalayas in 1892 was the beginning of a long record of travel and discovery. The interests of India are in good hands.

* The lecturer received at the time a letter from the late Lord Roberts in which he wrote: "I entirely agree with you as to the desirability of having such a museum, and as to the idea of its being on the site near where the new London County Council Hall is being erected, such being an excellent one.

LONDON THEATRES

Savoy Theatre.—" Hamlet."

A revival of Shakespeare's greatest play is always of general interest, Mr. H. B. Irving's production especially so. In the process of " cutting down," which all Shakespeare's plays now undergo, Mr. Irving has chosen to omit passages which do not bear on the character of Hamlet—*e.g.*, his speech to the players and Polonius' advice to his son—famous for their beauty—and to include Act IV., Scene IV., with Hamlet's less-known soliloquy beginning, " How all occasions do inform against me." For ourselves, we hope that this innovation will prove to be more than an experiment, and will be generally adopted. It was hardly Shakespeare's intention to present Hamlet as the unworldly philosopher incapable of taking action. The Prince of Denmark was a man constituted very much like his fellows, loath, as we all are, to take an irrevocable step without ample justification, and apt to shiver at the brink before taking the final plunge. The play is full of human qualities; Hamlet is very much like ourselves. That is why we all go and see Hamlet.

Mr. H. B. Irving undoubtedly scores a great personal triumph, and is ably seconded by Miss Gertrude Elliot as Ophelia and Mr. Norman Clarke as Polonius; but if the acting was all that could be desired, as also the arrangement of the play, two criticisms might be made with regard to the staging: the first scene was much too dark, and the dumb-show in Act III. would, we think, have been more effective on a platform than in a rather unconventional open lobby of what must have been the next floor of the Castle.

NEW AND OLD GREECE

By F. R. Scatcherd

II

"'*Twas Greece, and living Greece, once more.*"

"ὁ πολιτικός ἀνήρ ὠφείλει νά λέγη πάντοτε τήν ἀληθείαν καὶ πρός τὰ ἄνω καὶ πρός τὰ κάτω."—Eleutherios Venizelos.

"The statesman should always speak the truth in the council-chamber as well as on the platform."

"The glory that was Greece" had apparently returned in 1912, when, in the Easter of that year, the University of Athens celebrated its jubilee, simultaneously with the gathering of the International Congress of Orientalists, which had selected the beautiful capital of Modern Greece as its meeting-place.

Greece had but recently issued, regenerated and vigorous, from a bloodless revolution which had freed her from the grosser forms of political corruption. Social and civic reconstruction had made rapid strides under the wise, firm guidance of the great Cretan statesman, Venizelos. Though he had only held the reins of government for the brief period of two years, he had nevertheless carried out such far-reaching reforms that only those who had known Greece before his advent to power were in a position to realize why his adoring countrymen regarded him as the saviour of Modern Greece.

His direct and forceful personality had focussed and crystallized into forms of beneficence, beauty, and utility the subtle and powerful, if less direct, influences generated by a long line of reformers, culminating in the ceaseless promulgation

of humanitarian and sociological ideals as embodied in the writings of Platon Drakoules and his followers, whose propagandist efforts were directed from Greek centres of activity all over the world.

The opening reception of the Congress took place on the Acropolis. It was a scene never to be forgotten, and the statesmen who had wrought the transformation, and the philosopher who had inspired the visions of an ordered evolution which had enabled the practical idealists to realize their aims, were both there, together with a smiling Queen and a beaming King, once more the father of his people. Conspicuous, from his stature and his genial bearing, was the Crown Prince, restored to favour and destined in the near future to become the idol of that reorganized army which he would lead from victory to victory.

The man who had wrought these wonders stood in the midst of this brilliant assembly, with the sun's rays falling athwart his bared, bowed head, without a trace of self-consciousness or self-congratulation on his fine, patient countenance. Only the happy light in his grave eyes, and the undertone of joy in his modulated, earnest speech revealed the satisfaction of his soul in the successful issue of his unwearied efforts, a picture that haunted one's memory all through the tragic events of the Balkan wars.

"'Twas Greece, and living Greece, once more,"

for Greece had found her soul under the firm, wise leadership of a great statesman backed by a democratic and now devoted sovereign, who was finally to risk and lose his life while maintaining his people's right to the newly acquired city of Salonika.

III

OLD GREECE

"The glory that was Greece" has again suffered eclipse. She had emerged from the Balkan wars triumphantly victorious, having increased her territory from 64,000 to 120,000

square kilometres, and had almost doubled her former population of two and a half millions. Greece needed peace and leisure in order to consolidate her recent acquisitions and to fit herself to meet the consequent responsibilities. She had bravely risen to the occasion, and in conformity with the motto of regenerated Greece, "πράξεις καὶ ὄχι λόγια" (Deeds, not words), was well on the way to the accomplishment of her task, when as a midsummer bolt from the blue, there descended upon mid-Europe the events culminating in the European War of August, 1914.

The general outline of events since that date are too well known to need recapitulation, but in justice to those in Old Greece who feel themselves unfairly treated by the Entente, certain cardinal facts need repetition. Men living in Athens, cut off from information other than that which is coloured by the official attitude of the Royalists of Greece, argue somewhat as follows.

They complain that British sympathy with Bulgaria was persisted in even after she had shown unmistakable signs for many months, before and after the outbreak of war, that she was in league with the Central Powers. As early as April, 1915, Greece warned the Entente that Bulgaria had definitely made common cause with Germany, and was only fooling it in order to gain time. But this warning passed unheeded, so far at least as practical results were concerned.

This error of judgment in the policy of the Entente, though perpetrated in good faith, was none the less disastrous in its effects upon the sentiments of both Greeks and Serbians, who had for long clearly perceived that Bulgarian aspirations aimed, not only at the satisfaction of legitimate desires, but at political domination in the Balkans.

In Greece this attitude of the Entente was laid at the door of British pro-Bulgarism, and was deeply resented in political circles, including those of the Venizelists, although M. Venizelos himself did not share in this resentment, and explained and justified the attitude of the Entente as mainly due to past political ineptitude on the part of Greece. The re-

sentment was accentuated when it was alleged that the Entente was bringing pressure to bear upon Greece in order to secure the cession of Cavalla to Bulgaria, and was yet further heightened by the rejection of the Greek proposals in regard to action against Bulgaria.

To official Greece, convinced as she was of Bulgarian intentions, this attitude seemed to be nothing short of putting a premium upon perfidy while penalizing loyalty and friendship.

Although the great majority of the people in Old Greece still remain friends of the Entente, it would be a grave mistake to assume that all who are now declared to be pro-German, excepting those in the immediate *entourage* of the King, were so from the beginning. I know the reverse to be the case. I know there has been an evolution of opinion, culminating in a revulsion of sentiment among those whose pro-Entente sympathies were not robust enough to resist the gradual weakening of Entente influence, *due to absence of information on these questions,* and to the ceaseless activities of the powerful pro-German propaganda at Athens. Unless this view be accepted, it is difficult to account for the change which has taken place since the time when Sir Francis Elliot received an enthusiastic ovation early in 1915, a change which culminated in the street fighting last December, and the lamentable loss of life among British and French sailors.

With regard to the Treaty with Serbia, the defence put forth by the Gounaris and Skouloudis Governments in their newspaper organs *weighed heavily with readers from whom the other side was persistently withheld.*

Greece, they maintained, was bound to intervene in favour of Servia only in case the latter were attacked by Bulgaria, or by Bulgaria and Turkey together—there was no explicit statement in the treaty committing Greece to come to the aid of Serbia if attacked by Bulgaria acting in alliance with two of the greatest military powers in the world. This view is persisted in, despite the fact that it remains unshared by three-quarters of the Greek nation.

It would be difficult for anyone who has followed events in

Greece for the last few months to find words to excuse the policy of King Constantine, which has been openly anti-Entente while he was professing benevolent neutrality. The surrender of war material and of strategical posts on the frontier were two actions which provoked anger and resentment from the majority of those most devoted to him among his own subjects.

The view taken by the leading neutralists, however, is that Greece, having decided to remain neutral, could not well have acted otherwise. They maintain that while German brutality, inhumanity, and disregard for the sanctity of treaties and of International law, have been persistently denounced by the Entente peoples, in so far as they themselves were the sufferers, no due allowance has been made for the brutal bullying, and threats of immediate declaration of war, to which Greece has been continuously subjected at the hands of the Kaiser.

Could it be hoped that Germany would have taken into account the helplessness of Greece? that her fate would have been less merciless, less disastrous, than that of Belgium and Serbia?

Poor little Greece, they argued, already weakened by two exhausting if glorious wars, had to attempt the impossible. She had to placate the Entente while keeping at bay the devouring Central Powers; and as David of old preferred to fall into the hands of the living God rather than into those of his relentless foes, so the Greek neutralists bore with their sovereign's bias in favour of the merciless, treacherous Teuton, even at the risk of angering the humaner and more righteous Entente nations.

The Greek neutralist also holds, and this with a very great measure of justice, that one vital reason why Greece could not make war on Germany is that the moment she did so, that moment the many hundreds of thousands of Greeks living in Turkey would meet with the same fate as the Armenians.

What protection or assistance could the Entente Powers have offered to these defenceless multitudes? Recent events

at Athens showed that the Entente could not even come to the help of its friends there. How, then, could it prevent their wholesale slaughter at the hands of the Turk?

Again, the conflict between Italian aspirations and Greek interests has been a great hindrance to any improvement of Greek relations with the Entente. Particularly was this the case when Greece was told that the Entente, because of Italy, could only accept her co-operation if she were to give it unconditionally.

With regard to Old Greece, one must understand and realize that Athens, Patras, Chalchis, Volo and Larissa are practically all that is left of the former kingdom of Greece, save a few insignificant villages in the neighbourhood of these Royalist towns. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that these towns are Royalist rather by compulsion than by choice, for even in these centres of official Greece, three-fourths of the inhabitants are certainly pro-Entente, if not actually Venizelist.

Who, in face of such facts, can regard Greece as decadent or self-seeking? In truth she is sound of head and true of heart, but has been left too much a prey to the machinations of those who manipulate events for personal and interested ends.

It is even now not too late in the day for Old Greece to save the situation and her honour by cutting adrift from the body politic those "*Budgetivores*" who are preying on the life of the nation, and replacing them by persons capable of recalling to the path of duty their erring and hypnotized sovereign. As I write, signs are not wanting that some attempts are being made in the desired directions. Should this prove to be the case, let us assist them to the fullest extent in our power.

Professor Ure reminds us that the Greeks must not be expected to trudge along monotonous dead levels of thought and action, that they rise to heights and sink to depths unusual among ourselves. He points out that the whole nation rose to the heights between 1910 and 1914, and that since then a few of the upper classes have sunk lamentably low.

He holds that the prevention and cure for such lapses on the part of so responsive a people as the Greeks is to be found in a sympathetic attitude on the part of those who have to do with them. Let us not give them occasion to feel and to say, with the peasant woman at Taenarum, when in December, 1912, Venizelos was known to be going to London :

"They are powerful, and they are very unjust."

(To be continued.)

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS.

THE King has been graciously pleased to make the following appointment to the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India :—To be G.C.S.I., The Baron Carmichael of Skirling, G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G.

INDIAN WAR LOAN

It has been arranged that subscribers to the Indian War Loan may pay 50 per cent. of their subscriptions in British Treasury Bills, which will be accepted under discount at 4½ per cent. and at the rate of exchange of £1 = Rs. 15. The Treasury Bills will be received by the Accountant-General at the India Office.

Applications for the loan are not received in England. They must be made in India as explained in the prospectus published on March 1.

The Secretary of State for India has appointed Sir Arthur Hirtzel, K.C.B., to be an Assistant Under Secretary of State, and Mr. J. E. Shuckburgh to be Secretary in the Political Department of the India Office in succession to Sir Arthur Hirtzel.

THE RUSSIAN EXHIBITION

AN IMPRESSION BY OLGA NOVIKOFF

THE Russian Exhibition in London is a great event, and Lady Muriel Paget, who is the very soul of that great enterprise, deserves the warmest gratitude of any Russian whose heart throbs with deep love for his country. After the *Te Deum*, sung by the Chaplain of the Russian Embassy and his choir, we all heard with great emotion the heroic Lord French's words, which we are trying to reproduce with the aid of the English Press almost verbatim. The only fault you can find with him was that he spoke of his drawbacks and his inability to do justice to the cause he represented. I hope people will not blame me for reproducing his very words.

"Viscount French said he was very glad indeed to have the opportunity of expressing the warmest thanks of the Army generally to Lady Muriel Paget and to those who have helped her in this great work in Russia; and to tell her, and those who have worked with her, how they appreciated the splendid work which they had done. They had done a very great deal to help the suffering soldiers and the Russian wounded, and in so doing they had shown in the most practical form the sympathy which all felt with our great Russian Ally. He thought that Lady Muriel Paget not only deserved the thanks of the Army, but the thanks of the nation.

"In speaking of Russia, his mind inevitably went back to those anxious months between August and December, 1914. They all knew how hard we were pressed, and what terrible sacrifices and what terrible risks we had to run in order to maintain ourselves; but when they were in deepest anxiety their thoughts turned with the utmost gratitude to those who gave them real and splendid assistance, and helped them out of their anxiety. Thus the hearts of all those who were engaged in the army go back to Russia and to the Russian army.

"Speaking of the Grand Duke Nicholas, Viscount French said: 'I am sure no soldier in the British Army will ever cease to regard him as one of the greatest of commanders. His courage and intrepidity, above all, his unvarying loyalty to his country in all circumstances, has earned the admiration of everyone. It was this same great general who, though he commanded an army almost as unprepared as our own, without hesitation threw them into East Prussia, overran nearly one-half of that province, held his ground, and in consequence rendered the most invaluable help to those who were on the Western front. Then I come again to that magnificent advance a little later into Poland and Galicia, and the equally magnificent retreat, conducted with skill and determination on the part of the leaders, and a sturdy courage on the part of the men which, I think, will for ever take a place in the military history of the world. Afterwards things did not go so well, but I am quite sure that had the interior of Russia—I think I may say this—been quite on a par and up to the condition of the Russian leaders and the Russian army, we should have seen a

different state of things in Eastern Europe at the present time. Russia has since had her trouble—her terrible trouble. A great revolution in the midst of a great war cannot do otherwise than create enormous difficulties in the prosecution of such a war, but I feel quite certain that these difficulties will be overcome, and quickly overcome, and that a nation which has the battle-cry of freedom in its heart will go forward stronger, better, and more able, and will finally carry out that great task it has set itself to realize. I am quite certain that we shall realize the enormous power and possibilities of that wonderful people, of whom I am afraid we know very little. Russia never went to war for the purpose of aggrandizement. She went to war to succour and help a weak nation of her own race, whose religion was her religion, and I am quite certain she will never flinch until she brings that task to a successful conclusion.' Their thoughts and their sympathies went out to their Allies, and they earnestly prayed that their efforts might be crowned with the most complete success."

The beauty of Lord French's speech was that he understood Russia and her aims better than some of the extremist politicians, who seem to forget now the aims of our country which have manifested themselves ever since the great Sviatoslav I., and who fail to understand that the consequence of their ideas would be a criminal peace with Germany and the sacrifice of all the duties of Russia.

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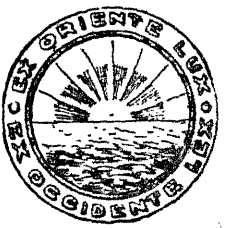
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INDEX TO VOL. XI.

THE NEAR EAST

PAGE

SERBIA YET! By F. P. Marchant 61

SERBIA OR BULGARIA? By V. R. Savitch 181

NEW AND OLD GREECE. By F. R. Scatcherd 337, 473

THE GREAT POWERS AND THE NEAR EAST. By a Traveller in the Balkans 434

REVIEW OF BOOKS:

The Torch-bearers of Bohemia. By V. I. Kryzhanovskaya . . 108
Intellectual Poland. By L. Litwinski 109
More Tales by Polish Authors. By Benecke and Busch . . . 111
The Reconstruction of South-Eastern Europe. By V. R. Savitch . 232
Turkey, Greece, and the Great Powers. By G. F. Abbott . . 434
A Ride Through the Balkans. By A. E. Conway 434
Political Frontiers and Boundary-Making. By Sir T. H. Holdich . 361

INDIA

THE JUBILEE OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION . . 1, 121, 241, 378

NEWS FROM INDIA. By Captain H. Wilberforce-Bell, F.R.G.S. . . 15

NATIVE STATES AND INDIAN HOME RULE. By John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D. 22

THE LAUREATE OF THE EAST. By Lady Katharine Stuart . . . 296

INDIA AND THE COTTON DUTIES 344

THE INDIAN REPRESENTATION ON THE IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE. By Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E. 463

INDIA AND THE PROPOSED WAR MUSEUM 471

REVIEW OF BOOKS:

An Historical Geography of the British Dependencies, Vol. VII. . 234
Indian Theism. By N. Macnicol 235

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

CO-OPERATION IN INDIA. By B. Abdy Collins, I.C.S. 68

INDIAN WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND MONEY. By Sir Guilford Molesworth, K.C.I.E. 133

TO-MORROW IN INDIA. By Lady Katharine Stuart 155

THE NATIVE STATES OF INDIA IN RELATION TO THE PARAMOUNT POWER. By T. H. S. Biddulph, C.I.E. 253

THE INDIAN REPRESENTATIVES AND THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION 357

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN INDIA. By Miss M. Ashworth . . 388

THE FAR EAST

LI YUAN HUNG'S PRESIDENCY. By E. H. Parker 46

CHINA IN ENGLISH LITERATURE. By G. C. Martin 407

RUSSIA

PAGE
THE GRAND-DUKE CONSTANTINE: IN MEMORIAM. By Olga Novikoff 54
BRITAIN AND RUSSIA'S DEVELOPMENT. By Baron A. Heyking . . 56
A NATIONAL CALAMITY. By Olga Novikoff 185
THE DETHRONED GERMAN DESPOTISM IN MUSIC. By Olga Novikoff 193
THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. By A. F. Steuart 334
RUSSIAN POETRY 469
THE RUSSIAN EXHIBITION 480

REVIEW OF BOOKS:
Russian Songs and Lyrics. By John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D. . . . 105
Some Russian Heroes, Saints, and Sinners. By S. E. Howe . . 110
My Russian and Turkish Journals. By the Dowager Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava 112
The *Russian Review*, November, 1916 117
The Russian Arts. By Rosa Newmarch 450

THE MIDDLE EAST

THE ARABS FREE 346

REVIEW OF BOOKS:
Myths and Legends of Babylonia. By L. Spence 233
From the Gulf to Ararat. By G. E. Hubbard 447
From Moscow to the Persian Gulf. By B. B. Moore . . . 447

ORIENTALIA

ARYAN ORIGIN OF THE WORLD'S CIVILIZATION. By L. A. Waddell . 196
THE EMPEROR BABUR'S OPINION OF INDIA. By H. Beveridge . . 312
THE AVESTA AND THE VEDA. By Professor Mills 315

REVIEW OF BOOKS:
Mohammedanism. By Professor C. S. Hurgronje 443

MILITARY NOTES. By General F. H. Tyrrell . . . 29, 211, 303, 458

MISCELLANEA:
The War and the Kaiser, by Major-General Sir Alfred Turner, K.C.B., 36. Twentieth-Century Education, by Lady Katharine Stuart . . 370

REVIEW OF BOOKS:
Letters from a French Hospital 341

CORRESPONDENCE:
Madame Olga Novikoff Unmasked 220
Indian Railway Policy. By Sir Guilford Molesworth, K.C.I.E. . . 323
The Revolution. By Y. Mouravieff Apostol 329
Indians at the Universities. By John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D. . . 332
Optimism and Pessimism. By H. F. B. 332

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS 120, 231, 359, 479

OBITUARY NOTICES:
Earl of Elgin, K.G. 215
Count Benckendorff, G.C.V.O. 216
Earl Cromer, O.M. 217
A. D. Pollen, LL.D., I.C.S. (Ret.) 219
General John Gustavus Halliday 360
Dr. Zamenhof 452

THEATRES AND DRAMATIC CRITICISM: PAGE
General Post, Haymarket Theatre, 340. Hamlet, Savoy Theatre . 472

FICTION:
Elliott Limited, by D. S. Mann, 236. The Eternal Husband, by Fyodor Dostoevsky, 448. The Shadow Line, by Joseph Conrad . 449

COMMERCIAL NOTES

INDIA AND GERMAN TRADE—II. By S. 100
BARON A. HEYKING ON RUSSIA'S RESOURCES 224

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

(A Record of Meetings of some Learned Societies in London)

IMPERIAL WAR CABINET AND IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE . 454, 455
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION. See under India.
ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE: The Ordeal of Empire. By Sir Walter Raleigh 92
The Place-Names of the Empire. By Sir Charles Lucas . . . 456
SOCIETY OF ARTS (Indian Section): The World's Cotton Supply. By Professor J. A. Todd 94
Between the Tigris and Indus. By Sir T. H. Holdich . . . 227
Indian Silk Industry. By Professor H. Maxwell-Lefroy . . . 350
Medicine in India. By Sir C. Pardey Lukis 456
Indian Forest Products. By R. S. Pearson 456
ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY: The Kansu Marches of Tibet. By R. Farrer 95
Indian Frontier Geography. By Sir F. Younghusband . . . 349
The Baghdad Railway and its Tributaries. By H. C. Woods . . 355
GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY (Liverpool): Balkan Communications. By H. C. Woods 99
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY: The Zoroastrian Prophecy and the Messianic Hope. By H. Baynes 229
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY: Western Panjab. By Major A. J. O'Brien 351
ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE: Modern Hindustani Drama. By A. Yusuf Ali 349
ROYAL STATISTICAL SOCIETY: Baron A. Heyking on the Economic Resources of Russia 224
THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES 230, 347, 351, 352
CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY: Japan's Part in the War. By W. Kato . 229
Baghdad. By Sir T. H. Holdich 457
UNION OF EAST AND WEST: Performance of Chitra 351
KING'S COLLEGE: Russian Poetry. By J. Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D. . . 469
The Future of the Slavs. By Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson . . . 226
Exhibition of Russian Pictures 354
ARMENIAN RED CROSS AND REFUGEE FUND: Christmas Celebration 225
LYCEUM CLUB (Geographical Circle): Formation of the Nile Valley. By Dr. Flinders Petrie 98
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